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# **West Europe Report**

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13 October 1983

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No. 2218

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## HOPES EXPRESSED ON NEW ANGOLAN OIL

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 9 Sep 83 p 32

[Text] Portugal may see a substantial part of its energy related problems resolved if a second block, now in an advanced stage of negotiations between PETROGAL [Portuguese Oil Company] and SONANGOL [National Angolan Fuel Company], is as productive as block one located offshore from Angola. PETROGAL has an interest in this block.

PETROGAL has a 10 percent interest in AGIP [National Italian Oil Company] run block one. Its first test well, tapping the two reservoirs found, produced from about 4,600 to 4,300 barrels daily.

Block one is located 47 kilometers from the coast, to the south of the mouth of the Zaire River, on 93 meter deep water. It is, therefore, located within the parameters of the Angolan zone believed to be richest in oil.

Block four is located in the same zone and it will be directly operated by SONANGOL and not AGIP. PETROGAL may also have a 10 percent in this one.

Block four seems to be even more promising than "one." According to what industry experts told O JORNAL, it may provide Portugal with reasonable levels of crude. Also according to these sources, the production from both blocks would be enough to significantly reduce Portugal's oil imports from other regions.

A few days ago, Secretary of State for Energy Rocha Cabral visited other PETROGAL exploration sites located on Portuguese territory.

These sites are located in the "Benfeita" zone near Merceana, Alenquer. These sites have already given much to talk about when the drilling confirmed there was oil there. This oil was sent to Dallas for quality studies. At the time O JORNAL gave the matter first hand prominence.

The quality was confirmed but, once again, the quantity would not justify exploration.

The Secretary of State's visit and the statement in a PETROGAL communique speaking of a "second (testing) phase of drilling being started at that site" naturally aroused an old curiosity. However, today's hopes will be, at the most, the same as last year's. Frankly, there is little hope in the Benfeita zone as well as in the Algarve (where the natural gas gusher in neighboring Cadiz raised enthusiasm) and in generally all the prospecting done both on and offshore in Portugal.

## CONCERN GROWS AS UNEMPLOYMENT DOUBLES IN YEAR

Godthaab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 24 Aug 83 p 10

[Text] Unemployment in Greenland rose by about 100 percent during the past year. At least this was indicated by the Labor Market Bureau's figures for registered unemployment as of 31 May. But these figures, which were compiled by the Labor Market Section of the Home Rule Government, lack figures from K'anak and Umanak and no figures are available from small villages.

Official unemployment statistics have been harshly criticized recently, especially by the Labor organization SIK (Greenland Workers' Union). The statistics do not present a full picture of the situation and SIK chairman Jens Lyberth recently said that true unemployment may be at least twice as high as indicated by the official statistics.

In 1982, 22 percent of Greenland's work force (persons between 15 and 59 years of age) lived in small villages, which are not included in the unemployment statistics.

## Unskilled Hardest Hit

But what do the figures say about registered unemployment as of 31 May 1983 in all cities except K'anak and Umanak?

The figures show that unemployment rose by 97.8 percent compared to the same date in 1982. On the same day in 1982, 935 people were registered as unemployed. This year there are 1,850 unemployed.

Of the 1,850 registered, 1,832 were born in Greenland and 18 were born outside Greenland.

Unemployment among unskilled workers is about 12 times higher than among skilled workers.

There are 958 men and 892 women registered as unemployed.

The head of the Labor Market Section, Wilhelm Olsen, told GRONLANDSPOSTEN there was no doubt that some unemployed people did not register with the

Labor Market Bureau. But more and more are turning to the Labor Market Bureau in order to receive social welfare benefits. The severe winter has had a strong impact on the number of people registered as unemployed.

#### Group Of Officials

"Have you considered including rural areas in your unemployment figures?"

"We have no concrete proposals in this area," said Wilhelm Olsen. "It is the task of local governments to keep track of unemployment. I have seen, however, that there are many problems in registering unemployment in rural areas. For example, there are few local governments with offices in rural areas. The offices that do exist have personnel with insufficient training."

Wilhelm Olsen said that just after the fall session of parliament, a working group of officials would be appointed to investigate the labor situation in order to reduce unemployment. SIK, local governments, and the economic administration of the Home Rule Government will participate.

The working group also will deal with the question of revising the controversial regulations on the employment of labor from abroad.

9336

CSO: 3613/206



## PAPER URGES ACTION TO RELIEVE MOUNTING UNEMPLOYMENT

Godthaab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 24 Aug 83 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] The number of registered unemployed workers in Greenland doubled during the past year. This was indicated, in any case, by a report published recently by the Home Rule Government's Labor Market Section, after gathering figures from local labor market offices. Some have called this report "total'y useless." Figures from several towns are missing. In addition, unemployment in rural areas is totally absent in the published statistics. The unemployment figures are registered only in towns.

Nevertheless, the report presents a grim picture--a picture that is incomplete, but unmistakable.

The extremely severe climatic conditions prevalent in recent years have caused the unemployment rate to rise.

We cannot be satisfied just hoping for milder winters--and we do not believe anyone is satisfied with just that. Neither severe nor mild winters change the fact that we will need thousands of new jobs within the next 10 years. At present, about 800 young people are leaving school each year. Jobs must be created for them. It is meaningless to educate young people if they face a life of unemployment after their education. Today we can find highly skilled craftsmen who were "fortunate enough to find work as taxi drivers, for want of more suitable jobs!

Obviously, the time has come for a major effort to improve the work situation. In the short term, this can be done by intensifying the traditional measures for creating jobs. In the long run, present measures must become more effective and new ones developed. To take the fishing industry as the perpetual example, it is an industry whose structure and operation are too unified, so that it cannot meet the social need for a stable supply of jobs.

If our country's main industry is to become more profitable and stable, the Home Rule Government must play a central role. As we know, the Home Rule Government will take over the production and export division of KGH (Royal Greenlandic Trading Company) in less than 6 months.



There is no doubt that the political will exists to kill the beast of unemployment. For example, in their negotiations to form a government, Siumut [moderate leftist party favoring greater local autonomy] and Inuit Atakatigit [Marxist-Leninist party favoring total independence from Denmark] agreed that cooperation between the two parties should be based on political initiatives to promote employment.

But why should we simply wait for the politicians? Create an action group in every town and village. These groups should arrange well-prepared seminars, an "idea meeting," or whatever you want to call it, lasting a weekend with the theme: "How can we increase employment in our town?" Invite anyone who might be interested--unemployed people, fishermen, industrial workers, businessmen, teachers, people involved in commerce, etc. At least one idea out of 100 can always be used.

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CSO: 3613/206

## NEW TAXES ANNOUNCED BY GOVERNMENT

Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese 14 Sep 83 p 5

[Text] Yesterday, the government imposed four new taxes and increased five others. According to yesterday's ministerial plenary meeting, these measures are aimed at obtaining tax receipts to "mitigate the state budget deficit which is much higher than the flawed estimate of the previous government." The new taxes and the increases in the other five will be sent to the Assembly of the Republic for quick discussion and approval.

According to a government note, one of the four new taxes is temporary and it will only be in effect this year. Since it covers areas as different as earning subject to housing taxes, taxes on capital and certain fixed and permanent payments received this year (only until 30 September), it will affect all Portuguese. This extraordinary tax, as the government calls it, also includes political leaders. However, it "does not fall on the income of the more humble classes," as the council of ministers' note states.

The new permanent taxes include payment of 1,000 escudos (500 escudos in the case of minors) to leave the country. It apparently does not apply to those who merely go to Spain and use their identity card as a travel document. They apply to bars, discotheques and nightclubs open after midnight and to automobiles and motorcycles which have more than a certain horsepower. Although the government communique did not go into detail on this last point, it is acknowledged that the owners of diesel or gasoline powered vehicles (although their make is obviously different) will have an annual tax imposed on them that could vary between 40,000 and 50,000 escudos. Some recreational boats and private airplanes will also be affected by this "special tax."

As for the increase in already existing taxes and charges, the stamp tax will affect several strata of the population. This tax will increase from 50 escudos to 60 escudos. Another tax which will also be felt by many Portuguese is the increase from 20 escudos to 30 escudos (for small size vehicles) in the toll for crossing the 25 of April Bridge. The gambling tax is also being increased along with the conveyance tax for urban buildings or building lots valued at or more than 10,000 contos. The tax rate on the sale of automobiles is also being increased. The government says this tax burden "will fall the least on the less favored social classes." The tax rate on unchauffeured rented passenger vehicles is also being reduced. The council of ministers'

communique also notes that the decree that will consolidate this measure "grants importers greater ease in getting goods through customs."

It should be recalled that the newly introduced tax on Portuguese wanting to go abroad was tried without success by the previous government. The toll increase as well as other measures taken yesterday do not require the Assembly of the Republic's approval.

9935

CS0: 3542/221

## CCOO, PCA AGITATE FOR SWEEPING AGRARIAN REFORMS

Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 31 Aug 83 p 13

/Article by Alfonso S. Domingo/

/Text/ The present situation in the Andalusian countryside monopolized the discussions at two meetings yesterday. One took place in the Cordovan local of Palma del Rio, where the governing board of the rural federation of the CCOO /Workers Commission's/ met, looking forward to the next rally as well as to the 4 October union meeting in the Sevillian town of Badolatosa. The other was a meeting of the executive committee and secretariat of PCA /Andalusian Communist Party/ to study rallies held in this last period. PCA, in a statement made public on this subject yesterday afternoon, thought that these rallies "emphasized the necessity for an integral agrarian reform which includes substantial changes in land ownership, use and control, and in marketing structures."

For all that, PCA always supports the agrarian reform march, which, organized by rural CCOO, will begin next Monday and will pass through 35 Andalusian localities. Likewise PCA asks that the Escuredo offer to begin negotiations on Andalusian economic and social matters be put in final form, an offer which was made in July, and PCA considers that it should be carried out before the Andalusian authorities present their agrarian reform project, "a project from what is known through statements to the press by various members of the Andalusian government council, appears ambiguous and contradictory." The theme of agrarian reform deserves, in PCA's opinion, wide debate in Andalusian society. Therefore the secretary general of the party is going to use the communications media asking for a debate on this subject.

The strategy of the CCOO struggle for next week which is being decided in Palma del Rio (Cordoba) by the rural executive, will analyze the struggle, the preparation for agrarian reform and also the always burning and delicate issue of the union with SOC. Sixty workers from this union, on the other hand, were ejected for the sixth time from El Garrotal farm, without incident.

At the end of a week's march through the towns of the territory, the workers of Villa de la Concepcion, on the initiative of workers' committees, seized one of the biggest farms in the antequera area. There, in the place known as "La Caceria de lejos," they displayed large posters which could be seen by automobile drivers using the nearby Malaga-Cordoba highway. Phrases such as

"this farm and all those of the plain, for the workers" and "agrarian reform, now! Workers Commissions of Villa de la Concepcion" could be read during the 2-hour symbolic occupation of the farm.

During this time a meeting took place attended by about 100 people in which the march for agrarian reform was evaluated. Antonio Ruiz "Ramiro," secretary of the Villa de la Concepcion commissions made an appearance and extolled the spirit and courage which they had found in all the towns visited and the willingness to rally for the struggles called for by the rural federation which will begin 5 September throughout Andalucía.

Once the meeting ended, the workers left the farm without incident, feeling that they had accomplished the planned objectives: imbuing the workers with the need for agrarian reform and for protest against discrimination in the labor pool. For the next week and coinciding with the Andalusian rally, this local union intends to carry out some land seizures, no longer symbolically, but in fact.

On another front, more than 100 workers have remained shut inside the cathedral since yesterday afternoon, responding to a call from the rural federation of CC00

This seclusion measure was decided upon within the schedule which the union central has put together for the month of August, as a means of pressure against the present system of employment pools. When the workers arrived at the cathedral, Monsignor Mendez Ascensio, archbishop of the diocese, made a request concerning the respect due to the place and the cleanliness of the church. Likewise he pointed out that the church is always on the side of the neediest and that "you need the help of the Church and the state."

Those locked-in belong to the towns of Llorá, Alomartes, Albolote, Peligros, Moraleda, Huétor, Tajar, Deifontes, Pinos Puente, Maracena, Atarfe, Cogollos Vegas, Escornar, Salar, Turre, Fuentes del Cesna, Guadahortuna and Domingo Perez.

Apparently, what caused the lock-in, according to workers' sources, has been the letters sent by INEM [National Institute of Employment], reducing the number of those who receive community employment. The locked-in declared that they will remain in the cathedral until the civil government issues a circular to the local offices of INEM cancelling the reductions in the employment pool ordered in the last few days.

9678

CSO: 3548/494

## BRIEFS

DIAMOND DEPOSIT IN LUGO PROVINCE--Antonio Sanchez Lozano confirms having discovered an important diamond deposit in Santalla, province of Lugo. After 3 years of investigation, the presumed discoverer has arrived at the conclusion that he is dealing with a diamantiferous shaft in contact with limestone and barite, where kimberlite and peridotite are the base rock in the matrix of which are found the diamonds. The existence of this deposit--registered under number 5323 in the Delegation of Industry and Energy of Lugo--can be confirmed officially, according to the presumed discoverer, who is seeking immediate assistance from the administration for exploitation in the national interest. The deposit occupies 289 mining squares and about 25 million pesetas have been invested in its investigation. Apart from the existence of diamonds, the deposit offers an abundance of chrome. /Text/ /Madrid ABC in Spanish 1 Sep 83  
p 10/ 9678

CSO: 3548/494



## SDP CONGRESS BACKS JORGENSEN IN OPPOSING MISSILES

## Many Revolt Against Party on TNF

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE AFTEN in Danish 2-8 Sep 83 pp 1, 12

[Article by Helge Kristensen: "They Are Conducting a Non-Socialist Policy, Kjeld Olesen Says; Over 180 Prominent Social Democrats Support the Rebels in Missile Matter"]

[Text] Today in the Social Democratic Party press an announcement with 185 signatures is being published, in which leading Social Democrats support critics of the party's policy in the missile matter. This is happening directly before the party's extraordinary congress and annual meeting. The debate regarding this question is described in this article. The many other internal problems which have accumulated in the party and which can come to overshadow the political manifestation from the first annual meeting after the four-party coalition government took over power are elucidated on page 5.

In the daily AKTUELT there is today, Friday, an announcement in which 185 prominent Social Democrats strongly deplore the fact that "34 years of broad cooperation on Danish foreign and security policy went on the rocks in the Folketing on 26 May 1983."

This was the day the Folketing passed a Social Democratic resolution to extend the negotiation period for medium-range missiles in Western Europe, to propose deployment and preparations for deployment of medium-range missiles, to include the French and the British nuclear weapons in the count, and to combine the negotiations regarding medium-range missiles and long-range strategic missiles. The first goal must be, it reads in the resolution, that such reductions of the Soviet SS-20 missiles be carried out that substantial deployment is avoided entirely.

Earlier the Social Democrats after having become the opposition party refused to go along with , ng for the part of NATO's infrastructure program which was to cover some of the costs of deployment of medium-range missiles.

## Matter Dear to Heart

There was one in the Social Democratic Folketing group who on 26 May did not vote together with his party comrades. This was party veteran Robert Pedersen, to whom the matter of defense is a matter dear to his heart and who criticizes his party chairman Anker Jørgensen (whom he otherwise has the greatest respect for) for demonstrating in foreign policy matters spontaneity which runs counter to objectivity. Robert Pedersen is standing firm on the foundation created by Hans Hedtoft when he severed his connection with the Social Democratic neutrality policy of the 30's with the words, "Never again a 9th of April."

After 26 May Robert Pedersen and like-minded former Foreign Affairs Minister K.B. Andersen received a great number of communications from people who said that they were Social Democrats but now because of the above-named resolution wanted to resign from the party or stop voting for it. Robert Pedersen alone received about 50 messages of this sort. "When one knows how seldom people react to what happens politically one may take this as an indicator that it has affected many people," Robert Pedersen says to WEEKENDAVISEN. "This was also a feeling I got after this when I spoke with people at meetings and wherever else I went. I also entered into correspondence with Professor Bjarne Nørretranders, who said that he as a special expert was deeply shocked and that it also meant a slump for his political conviction. He said this also in behalf of several colleagues."

Bjarne Nørretranders is a professor in East European history and a member of the chairmanship of the Security and Arms Reduction Policy Committee.

"I said to him that the experts could opportunely let their voices be heard," Robert Pedersen continues. "Then Nørretranders answered that it was much better for those professionally involved and people who are not experts to let their voices be heard together."

## Moderate

And so, K.B. Andersen, Nørretranders and Robert Pedersen put their heads together with two other Social Democrats, Preben Bengtson, who is editor for the Danish Metalworkers Union, and Civil Defense Adviser Erik Trandum Lauersen. They agreed to collect signatures for an announcement in AKTUELT today, when the party's extraordinary congress on EC begins. The congress will go right over into the Social Democrats' ordinary annual meeting this weekend. The announcement has the following text:

"The undersigned Social Democrats deeply deplore the fact that 34 years of broad cooperation on Danish foreign and security policy went on the rocks in the Folketing on 26 May 1983. We urge the party's leadership to strive to recreate solidarity regarding Denmark's NATO membership and thereby strengthen confidence in Denmark as an alliance partner."

"We chose a very moderate text which would not throw any particular monkey-wrench into the works, but which drew attention to the fact that here was a

question which shocked many people who had their political stand in the Social Democratic Party," Robert Pedersen says. "We also agreed about addressing only Social Democrats and who we knew in advance had been shocked by the development. We got different kinds of reactions. There were some who found that the statement was not sharp enough. They had resigned from the party and stuck by this decision. Others were of the view that it would have been better if no announcement had been inserted and that the question had been kept as an internal clash. There is in our party a tradition of prudence and party loyalty which, perhaps except for the Communists, is greater than elsewhere. We received 185 signatures, including from several burgomasters and former members of the government. This was far more than we had counted on. But if we had written several big articles in AKTUEL regarding the matter we would have received still more."

#### Resignations

"That the events in the Folketing on 26 May shocked Social Democrats to a great extent is evident also from the number of resignations from the party," Robert Pedersen continues. "Our Party Secretary Ejner Hovgaard Christiansen does say that it is only a question of a couple. But his knowledge of what is going on must be limited, for I alone have received copies of 20 resignations. And I have learned that in a single Copenhagen ward there have been 50 resignations. I know also that in a Jutland ward they have been alarmed over the fact that they have not had so many resignations in 20 years."

#### Non-Socialist Policy

WEEKENDAVISEN asked former Foreign Affairs Minister Kjeld Olesen, who adheres totally to Anker Jørgensen's position on the missile affair, to comment on the rebels' announcement. He says:

"With regard to the announcement itself, I think that its text is based on erroneous assumptions. Through the wording the desire is to say in ordinary Danish: 'Dear Social Democrats in the Folketing group: Adjust to what the non-socialist parties think of the missile question. With this there is unity.' And it is this matter of unity in the security policy which is decisive for Robert Pedersen and K.B. Andersen. The arguments one sees in the non-socialist argumentation concerning medium-range missiles rest on a foundation which is not in agreement with the actual facts of recent developments in this area. What is wrong in the assumptions of the announcement is that in the entire security policy the many nuances are not at all present which should be in order to be able to get a complete picture of formulation of the problem regarding medium-range missiles. If Robert Pedersen and K.B. Andersen cannot open their eyes to this then one can console oneself with the fact that Helmut Schmidt, Willy Brandt and all the Western European social democrats with the exception of the French and the Italian have."

Kjeld Olesen also said that the gradually numerous non-socialist editorials regarding the Social Democratic Party's position on the missiles are an expression of the greatest degree of irresponsibility. That a split has originated in cooperation between the traditional NATO parties is not

necessarily the Social Democratic Party's fault. But they are seeking to combine nuclear disarmament with the security policy as such and our NATO membership, and reach the conclusion that we are on the way to the position of the 1930's.

"It is sad that five party comrades have now reached out their hands to them. And thereby veiled the fact that Hedtoft's words regarding 'never again a 9th of April' is still the basis for the Social Democratic Party's security policy," Kjeld Olesen states.

We presented Kjeld Olesen's statement to Professor Bjarne Nørretranders. Nørretranders says:

"It is not a question of adopting a non-socialist policy. The purpose of the announcement is to seek to prevent the Social Democratic Party from conducting the Socialist People's Party's and Socialist Left Party's policy."

A large part of the criticism of the Social Democratic Party's position in security questions is to the effect that the party has changed signals after having become the opposition party and thereby placed the government in an absurd position in relation to the NATO parties. In an article in POLITIKEN on 13 August the party's chairman, Anker Jørgensen, admitted that a change had taken place: "The position has become sharpened, true enough, but the development has been caused by what has happened in the area of arms reduction--and perhaps precisely by what has not happened. We will therefore appeal to both superpowers to come to reason."

Anker Jørgensen also said: "As a matter of form I must repeat what I have said many times before, also in last year's violent debate, that this policy does not change our opinion of NATO. There is today no alternative to Denmark's participation in cooperation in NATO."

#### Rebels on Security Policy Beaten

Copenhagen BIFLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 Sep 83 p 9

[Article by Dan Axel: "Missile Criticism Fallen Completely to the Ground"]

[Text] "The Social Democratic Party's colors have faded. It resembles more and more the split Labour Party--a party of demonstrators and not realistic politicians. The party's hallmark--credibility--has been lost because of the security policy."

With this salute to the Social Democratic Party's annual meeting's approximately 600 delegates Robert Pedersen was shouted down while only a few clapped. He got his only support from the speaker's bench from Steffen Møller.

"The consequence of the switch in the security policy is that we have become second-class members of NATO," Steffen Møller said. "But how long will we



accept the fact that our security policy is pawned to the SF [Socialist People's Party] and VS [Socialist Left Party]? It is these two parties' motions for resolutions which in the future will whip us around in the ring."

#### Full Support

In spite of these two critical contributions, the Social Democratic Party's chairman, former Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen, yesterday received tumultuous approval of the security policy line which has been laid down.

"But the strong support will not be used now for new initiatives on our part. However, for the fall we will emphasize the views which have already been agreed to. No one can go and believe that the Social Democratic Party will accept the line of the Liberals and Conservatives just like that," Anker Jørgensen said. "Also, it is incomprehensible to me that unity cannot be created in the Folketing regarding the position on medium-range missiles. But let us now see whether it does not very soon become our position which wins broad support."

"There is reason to say--without our falling on our knees before the peace movement--that I think they have something which we cannot be blind and deaf to," Anker Jørgensen said.

Former Foreign Affairs Minister Kjeld Olesen dissociated himself sharply from the announcement which Robert Pedersen, K.B. Andersen and Steffen Møller, among others, the other day had inserted in the Social Democratic newspapers with the names of 188 [as published] party members who deplore the party's "changed position."

"On the other hand, we will not harbor any illusions about a Soviet system which does not shrink from mass murder of defenseless passengers," Kjeld Olesen said. "But the decisive thing is whether Moscow has an interest in saying stop to steadily increased resources for an insane race which is aiming right at 'Star Wars.' A sober analysis shows that they must have."

Both Anker Jørgensen and Kjeld Olesen maintained that the Social Democratic Party chose the side of NATO because there "is no alternative." "But we are not fossils, and every possibility for relaxation of tensions must be utilized," said Anker Jørgensen to great applause.

#### Rank and File Support

Several rank and file delegates reacted strongly to the "notorious announcement." Jørn Pedersen of Silkeborg said, among other things, that the initiative takers had performed a bad service for themselves and the party. "Such solo runs in the press make us in the unions depressed. You should have first tested such opinions in meetings where they could have been voted on," he said.

The chairman of the Herning district—where Robert Pedersen was elected—reported at the annual meeting that a majority in the executive committee had dissociated themselves from Robert Pedersen's "campaign against the leadership." "But of course all respect his right to do this," he said. Steffen Møller's district chairman, Bent Jørgensen, also remarked that the district did not agree with his views.

#### Undemocratic

Steffen Møller reported in addition that the Social Democratic Party's new security policy line came to see the light of day in an extremely undemocratic manner. "I had the honor to be invited to Anker's birthday conference at the end of January, where the executive committee and the Folketing group were to debate the 'threat of annihilation.' Kjeld Olesen was given the floor and after an introduction he read a manifesto of 10 points regarding the new Social Democratic strategy for relaxation of tensions," Steffen Møller says.

"The 10 points came to a study group under the leadership of West German Egon Bahr. After a short debate without properly coming to a decision, it appeared that the 10 points had now become the party's new line—it could be read in AKTUEL the day after. How can such a thing come about in a well-regulated democratic movement like ours?"

#### Svend Auken Elected Political Spokesman

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 Sep 83 p 8

[Article by Lisbeth Knudsen: "Auken Political Spokesman for Social Democrats"]

[Text] The Social Democratic Party's leadership suffered a noteworthy defeat when yesterday it tried to get the party's Folketing group to elect former Economy Minister Ivar Nørgaard as its new political spokesman. Former Labor Minister Svend Auken beat Ivar Nørgaard with 38 votes to 15.

The group's executive committee at a meeting on Friday evening could not agree regarding nominating a candidate. The party's chairman, Anker Jørgensen, Vice-Chairman Knud Heinesen, Group Vice-Chairman Rict Bjerregaard and Group Secretary Jytte Andersen nominated Ivar Nørgaard. The rest of the group executive committee nominated Svend Auken.

The post of political spokesman provides Svend Auken a position at the top of the Social Democratic Party where recently Ivar Nørgaard and Mogens Lykketoft had made themselves strongly assertive. The post also normally provides a seat on LO's [Danish Federation of Trade Unions] business committee.

The Social Democratic Party's change of political spokesman happens after Knud Heinesen at an executive committee meeting of the Social Democratic Party on Friday was asked to take on more organizational assignments in the future. Knud Heinesen became political spokesman when the Social Democratic Party became the opposition party last year.



## Conservative Paper Evaluates Congress

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 Sep 83 p 10

[Editorial: "Continued Confusion"]

[Text] The Social Democrats mixed the annual meeting, congress and Folketing group up in one pear soup and sought thereby to solve all the gnawing problems which grate on their nerves politically and organizationally. The Gallup political indicator confirms the disease. The Social Democratic Party in August had a smaller following than in the last election, where it lost nine seats.

The candidate list for the EC election was so long that qualifications appear not to have been decisive, but the split between proponents and opponents of Danish membership still as decisive. The party comrades who are fighting to preserve unity regarding the foreign and security policy were swept out without any serious attempt to convince the public that objective arguments can provide grounds for this repudiation. Knud Heinesen, who so often has been on the way out, left his post as political spokesman but became a finer vice-chairman than the burgomaster in Gladsaxe, who is tired of political work. And the game concluded with a choice between Ivar Nørgaard, whom the party leadership obviously wanted as the new spokesman, and Sven Auken, whom the group's majority nominated.

The whole thing could be concluded with good words regarding the party's strength, but most certainly went home with a feeling that everything continues to be characterized by not only unrest, but genuine disunity. The Social Democrats had it just as bad when they sat with the power of government and it is just as difficult for them to find out how they should behave as the opposition party. For them the anniversary of the change in government is nothing to celebrate. They certainly believed that by giving up they could come up with a basis which could bridge the political and personal clash of interests, but it has indeed become obvious that this has not at all been the case. The party meetings of the last few days have once again shown that the Social Democratic Party is in a serious crisis.

A party can get into a crisis situation as the result of actions by political opponents. However, the Social Democrats must admit to themselves that it is not others who are the cause of their difficulties. The party has been split for a number of years and Anker Jørgensen has not been in a position to heal this split. On the contrary, through his emotional activity he has often taken part in intensifying the clashes. This was true when the party with the responsibility of government could not find out whom it should cooperate with, and it has been just as pronounced in its year as the opposition party.

It is to the detriment of functioning of the parliamentary system that the largest party has so many problems that it all too often has to be conspicuous for appearing not to at all know what it wants. There is greater reason for pity than for malice.

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## COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS ON NEWSPAPER DEBATE

## Kivimäki: Party Future at Stake

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 11 Sep 83 p 9

[Article: "Aalto Predicts Difficult Election of Leaders for SKP"]

[Text] The election of Finnish Communist Party (SKP) leaders at the party congress to be held next May was raised as a central issue on the first day of the SKP Central Committee's 2-day meeting being held in Helsinki.

The issue was raised at the Central Committee session by party first secretary Arvo Aalto, according to whom one does not have to be a seer to notice that the election of party leaders will create difficulties at the coming party congress.

According to Aalto, many expectations and pressures are even now in motion with regard to party leaders. "The matter must be taken care of when the time comes, in concert with all members and organizations and without shunning public airing, so that not too much room is left for needless whispering," Aalto said.

## Newspaper Report to Central Committee

The most delicate issue for the Central Committee now in session is the founding of a new organ for the party. The party Politburo discussed the matter Saturday morning, but did not really propose a resolution to the Central Committee. However, the Politburo did decide to bring the Press Committee report as is to the Central Committee session.

The Party Committee had already discussed the Press Committee proposal last Wednesday, but due to lack of time they decided to continue the discussion yesterday morning.

The Press Committee has proposed that a weekly be founded for the SKP by merging PAIVAN POSTI, which has already ceased publication, and the theoretical journal, KOMMUNISTI.

The plan would be to later develop the weekly into a daily by merging it with the SKP stalinist minority organ, TIEDONANTAJA. The resulting paper would appear four times a week.

The Stalinist minority is demanding that the new daily be made the chief organ of the SKP, in which case the present chief organ, KANSAN UUTISET, would only serve as the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] organ.

#### "Question As to the Future of the SKP"

When presenting his report, Press Committee chairman Erkki Kivimäki said that in press matters the SKP is of particular concern, its position and its future, which is the key issue for the whole People's Democratic movement.

Kivimäki, who belongs to the moderate majority and is a member of the SKP Secretariat, emphasized that it would be impossible to achieve unity without deciding for a press based on parallel operation.

According to Kivimäki, the idea of a party organ has gained increasing support in different parts of the country. According to Kivimäki, a newspaper appearing once a week would not offer opportunities for resolving the problem of a parallel operation press.

"It is understandable that TIEDONANTAJA subscribers cannot be satisfied with their newspaper needs being met once instead of four times a week," Kivimäki said.

According to Kivimäki, the newspapers' financial situation will also require a change since parallel operations cost a lot. According to Kivimäki, party members already share in the costs of supporting two national newspapers, and that not even after the founding of a party organ.

#### Press Blackened

Outlining the international and domestic policy situations, SKP chairman Jouko Kajanoja deplored the fact that the nonsocialist press was using the party to form anti-Soviet public opinion.

"They suggest that Moscow is pulling the strings of the SKP, that it is Moscow's puppet. They are trying to beat the CPSU on the head with the SKP," he said.

Kajanoja said that the two parties were listening closely to each other's views and felt that this would prove to be very beneficial, even though the parties do not, naturally, share exactly the same opinion on everything. He described SKP relations as being those of neighborly interdependence.

#### Central Committee Press Organ Established

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 12 Sep 83 p 9

[Text] Starting next year, the SKP will begin publication of a new party organ appearing once a week. The party Central Committee on Sunday reached a long-awaited decision almost unanimously on the establishment of the newspaper.

However, they had to vote on the position of the SKP and SKDL's present chief party organ, KANSAN UUTISET, and the financing of the district newspapers. In the vote the position drafted by the Press Committee won out over the Stalinist motion for a change by 29 to 17. Three so-called hardliners completely abstained from voting.

The Central Committee charged the Politburo with making the preparations for a merger of the newspaper that is to be founded and the Stalinist districts' TIEDONANTAJA, the resulting paper, which will appear four times a week, to be the organ of the Central Committee. Hardliners Arvo Kempainen, Raimo Maki and Ritva Kaikkonen announced their dissenting opinions, supporting only the establishment of a weekly.

The Politburo will make the arrangements for the merger of TIEDONANTAJA and the weekly by the middle of next January. The final decision on the merger of TIEDONANTAJA and the new newspaper will not, however, be made until the party's 20th congress next May.

The decision to establish an SKP Central Committee organ, preliminarily christened "Finland's PRAVDA" by minority Communist head man Taisto Sinisalo, was perhaps surprisingly unanimously produced on Sunday. As recently as Saturday, the Central Committee was subjected to hearing passionate speeches opposing the decision.

According to the Central Committee resolution, after the merger of TIEDONANTAJA and the new newspaper, the paper will become a "Communist newspaper that makes party policy known among the masses."

The provision that SKP district organizations will still have the right to publish on their own is also written into the resolution. According to the resolution, the party organ that is to be founded and district organization newspapers will have equal status in terms of the distribution of government and trade union organization press subsidies. The decision to provide press subsidies for district newspapers will be made by the Central Committee.

The minority Communists proposed a different version at the Central Committee meeting for the provision concerning the distribution of press subsidies. The motion was voted on at the same time the retention of KANSAN UUTISET as the chief organ of the SKP was settled. The Stalinists would have preferred to eliminate the provision that confirms KANSAN UUTISET's position as chief party organ from the Central Committee resolution.

#### TIEDONANTAJA Will Not Be Gotten Rid Of

After the meeting SKP chairman Jouko Kajanoja said that a solution to the party's internal differences is now at hand. According to him, the press problem has preserved party differences.

Taking the floor at the meeting, Taisto Sinisalo rejected conjectures that a decision had now been made to get rid of TIEDONANTAJA. Sinisalo said that the district organizations would naturally decide for themselves on the form of their publication activities.



According to Sinisalo, working out the orientation of the party organ would require major changes in the party and especially in the work of party leaders.

Sinisalo, nevertheless, felt that the main lines of the press resolution were right. He thought, however, that they were still facing greater difficulties and asked for greater unanimity.

#### KANSAN UUTISET Will Become Broader

The Central Committee resolution also means that KANSAN UUTISET's editorial staff will be "complemented" with editors belonging to the Stalinist minority. According to Taisto Sinisalo, KANSAN UUTISET needs more political breadth.

At this meeting too they failed to reach a final settlement as to how the worthy title of the chief SKP organ would be shared, although KANSAN UUTISET has now been officially entered as the joint chief organ of the SKP and the SKDL by a majority vote. According to Taisto Sinisalo, a newspaper founded for the Central Committee is, however, naturally the chief organ of the party. According to him, KANSAN UUTISET is still needed as the common organ of the People's Democratic movement.

According to hardliner leader Arvo Kempainen, the Central Committee press resolution was a formal attempt at a solution by means of which background disputes cannot be settled. According to Kempainen, the decision may even worsen the chances of achieving ultimate harmony if the disputes are merely shifted to another area, as he fears is happening.

#### Paper Still Without a Name

Sample editions of the SKP Central Committee weekly will be published as soon as this fall. The paper will be based on the foundations provided by the theoretical journal, KOMMUNISTI, and PAIVAN POSTI, which has already ceased publication. The new newspaper does not yet have a name.

The Central Committee has named KANSAN UUTISET editor Paavo Ruonaniemi as the paper's chief editor and Hamu Vuorio as its editor.

Arvo Aalto, Oiva Bjorkbacka, Reijo Kalmakurki, Erkki Rontynen, Taisto Sinisalo and Jorma Sorvari have been appointed to manage the newspaper.

Aside from the main issue, the SKP adopted positions on the government's budget proposal, shortening of the work week and Euromissiles, among others.

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POLITICAL

FINLAND

COMMUNIST MAJORITY-WING PAPER CONFUSED ON NUCLEAR POWER

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 30 Aug 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Two Positions"]

[Text] The SKDL's [Finnish People's Democratic League] KANSAN UUTISET seems to have two, or perhaps even several, positions on nuclear power. The newspaper reacted with restraint last Wednesday to the report on nuclear power Imatran Voima [Imatra Power Company] made. KANSAN UUTISET primarily contented itself with the opinion that, when making decisions on energy matters, "decision-makers do not now face an easy task."

On Saturday at the same place KANSAN UUTISET adopted a position on the Olkiluoto power plant issues and expressed the opinion that "the government has no other choice but to deny Olkiluoto an operating permit."

Riding two horses simultaneously with respect to this issue is evident on the political scene elsewhere as well.

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## NUCLEAR ENERGY, BUDGET CUTS TO BE MAIN PARLIAMENT ISSUES

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 13 Sep 83 p 9

[Article by Hannu Leinonen: "Serious Parliament Business Will Begin with Budget Discussion; Main Controversy in Fall Will Be Over Nuclear Energy"]

[Excerpt] Aside from next year's budget, the most controversial topic of discussion for the Parliament that is to begin its session today will revolve about the energy policy. The joint opposition proposals it is surmised the Conservative Party and the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] will make will lend color to this political fall. It is anticipated of the Parliament fall session that it will develop into a lively one, not the least reason for this being that members of Parliament elected in the spring will probably have loosened the roots of their tongues after the relaxation of summer vacation.

Today's plenary session of Parliament will be short and skimpy in terms of factual content. Speaker Pystynen will speak outside the day's agenda in memory of the late first secretary, Eiler Hultin. A report on the investment fund for 1981 will be the only real business under consideration during the plenary session.

The arrival of the government's long-in-preparation new nuclear energy bill for discussion in Parliament will obviously touch off a debate among parliamentary representatives that will air fundamental attitudes going beyond party lines.

As early as the start of summer, Commerce and Industry Minister Seppo Lindblom (Social Democrat) announced that he was in a hurry to get the nuclear energy bill to Parliament for discussion. Within the government the energy bill has been described as the next most important test case after the budget.

The bill will probably be considered in evening sessions of the government in over a week's time from now. Since getting the bill to Parliament will probably require several sessions of the government, Parliament will not get a chance to tackle the bill before October at the earliest.

The energy bill will inevitably release a flood of dammed-up desires to speak. Many parliamentary representatives were eager even in the spring to speak their minds on nuclear power plants, among other things, by signing a protest against nuclear power. Several parliamentary representatives of the government

parties in the end refrained from participating in the signing of the protest after Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa (Social Democrat) had asked members of Parliament in his address to wait until the nuclear energy bill was submitted to Parliament for discussion.

The most significant difference between the present nuclear energy law and the new bill is the provision in the latter that in the final analysis Parliament decides on the procurement of new nuclear power plants for Finland.

Industry has been pressing for the procurement of a 1,000-Mw nuclear power plant and plans to step up its publicity for nuclear power when energy issues get to the big hall of Parliament.

Described as hard-hitting, industry's energy propaganda will apparently induce opponents of nuclear energy from all parties to look for alternative energy sources. A wonderful opportunity is also being offered the Greens to go ahead and create even a political profile for themselves.

#### **Pystynen Would Clean Up Absenteeism**

During its spring session Parliament provided modest samples of the ways it has diversified its work. Some lively exchanges that did not take place while reading from papers were observed in the big hall.

The big parties too are prepared to participate in the debates that may arise during the fall session by having several people on duty to follow the debates in Parliament.

It is also reported that the work of members of the government has been so intensified that new members of Parliament have even reached a state of exhaustion.

The many absences of members of Parliament have in part soiled their reputation as hard-working citizens. Speaker Erkki Pystynen (Conservative Party) has proposed a new way of cleaning up absenteeism statistics. According to Pystynen's proposal, parliamentary sessions could be divided into speech and resolution sessions.

The full complement of members of Parliament would not even be expected to participate in speech sessions; rather they could take care of other important duties should there be any.

All members of Parliament, on the other hand, would assemble in the big hall for resolution sessions since then the voting machine would be in operation.

The government's budget proposal for next year has even beforehand incited the Conservative Party and the SKDL, which are in the opposition, to with one voice oppose postponement of the school laws and reduction of municipalities' roles in the government. The budget will probably be submitted to Parliament on 21 September. Conservative Party chairman Ilkka Suominen last stirred teachers up on Sunday against postponement of the school laws contemplated by the

government. Led by their Social Democrat chairman, Voitto Ranne, the teachers are, however, probably not very eager to jump on Suominen's bandwagon.

Parliament will also probably abundantly discuss the proposed change in the pesticide law. According to the bill, municipalities too would be able to ban aerial spraying of herbicides.

Voting on the budget will not be engaged in until just before the Christmas vacation.

#### KEPU Will Choose a Leader for Its Delegation

The first thing Tuesday the Center Party (KEPU) parliamentary delegation will choose a new delegation chairman to succeed Matti Ruokola who is leaving his parliamentary representative's post to become the director of the Medical Board.

The strongest candidate to enter the race is Mikko Jokela, whose sharp tongue has, however, offended several delegation colleagues so much that they would on no account want him to head the delegation.

His sights set on becoming delegation chairman, Olavi Martikainen, who is nevertheless burdened with ties to the party's leaders that are described as being too close and earnest, is one of the KEPU's shrewdest leaders.

If criticism of Jokela is too aggressive in the parliamentary delegation, compromise candidate Kauko Juhantalo may in the end rise to become chairman of the delegation. He is now serving as the KEPU's representative on the Parliamentary Office Committee. Aside from Juhantalo, Kalevi Mattila, the chairman of the Government Auditors Committee, has also been mentioned as a compromise candidate.

Matti Ruokola will also relinquish his duties as a member of Parliament on Tuesday. He will be replaced in Parliament by school principal Mauno Manninen of Kuusamo who lost that seat in the last elections. School superintendent Tellervo Nousiainen of Oulu will become his first substitute.

The choice of a new first secretary during the fall session to succeed Eiler Hultin, who died suddenly, will be one of Parliament's most interesting nominations of candidates. The deadline for applying for the post expires in about a week and a half. Current assistant first secretary Erkki Ketola is anticipated to be the strongest candidate. If, however, he refuses to be a candidate, the choice of a parliamentary first secretary may become a problem.

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## PAPER COMMENTS ON EXPECTED AGENDA FOR FALL POLITICAL SEASON

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 13 Sep 83 p 2

[Editorial: "New Tensions Stimulate the Work of Parliament"]

[Text] Parliament will be meeting in its fall session, which is about to begin, in a changed political atmosphere. The reasons for this lie in the March parliamentary elections, but the practical consequences have only now begun to be evident. The spring session was chiefly spent in negotiations over the government and in breaking in the new government and the new Parliament.

Speaker Erkki Pystynen is also offering his own contribution to the finishing touches to the breaking-in period. He has put some thought into the improvement of Parliament's methods of operation and the reduction of absenteeism and has also adopted a favorable position on the division of parliamentary plenary sessions into speech and resolution sessions.

Opinions would not have to be expressed in that kind of revised way of operating. If this division is implemented, there would probably be more representatives present at votes, but there would be hardly any speakers during speech sessions. And is not the purpose of speeches precisely to influence decisions that have to be made? Let them rather improve on their speeches and way of expressing themselves so that there will be listeners and so that they will not regress in improving the work of Parliament.

Pystynen also defended representatives' absences and said that too much attention is devoted to them, officially and publicly. "They are always there when it is necessary and essential. When they are not present at sessions, they are performing some representative's task somewhere else, something they have to in any event do." This explanation is not very credible since there are usually sessions on only 2 days in the week in addition to an hour set aside for questions. Nor is there always committee work either.

Relations between the government and the opposition will above all produce new kinds of political tension in the work of Parliament. The opposition is now numerically larger than it was during the previous election term and its main components, the Conservative Party and the Communists, have even expressed a surprising desire to cooperate with one another. They have indeed tried to limit themselves to special cases before, but surprises can happen.



The qualitative changes in the opposition are also affecting the political atmosphere.

Long on the other side in the government, the SKP [Finnish Communist Party]-SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] is with reduced strength trying to pursue an opposition policy through which it might get its scattered ranks together. It also aspires to getting its voters back from, among others, the SMP [Finnish Rural Party], which is adjusting to being a government party evidently fit to perform — unless some representatives in Parliament make too much trouble for it.

The new situation may mean that the government will have unexpected difficulties in dealing with what is already the most important item on the agenda this fall in Parliament, next year's budget proposal. That contains a number of postponements or curtailments of the putting into effect of laws already passed by Parliament and of expenditures. Unlike the way it was during the previous Sorsa administration, the opposition has the numerical strength if it wants to vote on these bills between elections. To work, however, that desire must be a common one.

The changed political configurations will, of course, be felt in the work of Parliament. Conservative Party leaders' smoke signals also report this. They have sharpened their political tongues to a quite different extent than during the consensus policy years when the party wanted to get into the government in almost any way it could. Now it has rejected that route, as was to be expected, immediately after publication of the election results.

It is precisely these opposition views, the Conservative Party's tougher behavior, the Communists' return to the old paths of resistance and the opposition's cooperative ventures that make this fall's political situation unpredictable. When we also bear in mind the approaching municipal elections, they may in principle be agitated and the handling of important common affairs unpleasantly troublesome.

Functional parliamentarianism absolutely requires an adequate opposition which at its best relevantly criticizes the actions of the government, presents its own model for reaching decisions and preserves its own integrity of policy. For a prime minister to come to terms with it, skill in negotiation and a willingness to compromise, which, however, must not result in additional bills for the nation to pay, are required of him.

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## PILOTS' BOYCOTT MAY HURT KOIVISTO'S STANDING WITH USSR

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 14 Sep 83 p 7

[Commentary by Erkki Pennanen]

[Text] The repercussions of the downing of the South Korean passenger aircraft have caused a headache for Finland's foreign policy leadership in two major directions at the same time: because of the boycott by Finnish pilots in the East and because of the postponement of Mauno Koivisto's U.S. visit in the West. Koivisto's foreign policy honeymoon may be over even otherwise.

Both the causes of this headache seem of themselves to be rather harmless -- hardly even worth a headache. The boycott adopted by Finnair's pilots can, indeed, be considered completely as an affair of the pilots, as Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen stated on Tuesday in the newspapers.

The natural reason for the postponement of the meeting between Koivisto and President Ronald Reagan seems to be Reagan's recent decision to deliver the United States' UN speech himself, which has turned out to be exactly on the day of the official visit. Thus this does not have anything directly to do with mutual relations between the United States and Finland -- regardless of certain foreign press speculations to the contrary.

Nevertheless, the boycott is creating pressures on relations with Moscow: The abrupt manner in which the White House announced the cancellation of the meeting between Reagan and Koivisto has, on the other hand, disturbed relations with Washington.

In the Soviet Union there has been no public reaction to the fact that Finland's pilots have also joined in the boycott against Moscow. In Moscow the whole air boycott has been labelled as an anti-Soviet political operation organized by President Reagan.

Therefore, the inclusion of the pilots of the state-owned Finnair Corporation in this boycott for a full 2 months has, without a doubt, been felt as quite a shock. Especially since the Foreign Ministry has declared itself to be an outsider.

At the same time in neutral Austria the government considered it legitimate to advise the pilots of its own airline to take into consideration the fact that the intended boycott would not be compatible with that country's neutrality. The pilots decided not to join into the boycott.

#### Air Traffic Controllers to the Test

In Finland the quickness and the fierceness of the pilots' actions seems to have taken the foreign policy leadership at least partly by surprise. The prolongation of the boycott for 2 months as well as plans to extend these actions to air traffic controllers also have made the situation more serious than expected.

As far as is known, the air traffic controllers have been made aware of the foreign policy point of view with respect to expanding the boycott and they have also been reminded of their comparable position with civil servants. The closure of Helsinki's airport to Aeroflot aircraft cannot be ignored by the country's foreign policy leaders.

On the other hand, the interference of the foreign ministry in the international actions of organizations is felt to be a sensitive issue from the point of view of Finland's outward image. Already the press in Sweden and certain other countries has considered that the Finns have watered down their decisions since Finnair is ready to continue flights to Leningrad and to allow an increase in the frequency of Aeroflot's flights.

From the other direction the Foreign Ministry's alleged passivity has, for its part, aroused concern that Koivisto's Finland lacks the "voice of a leader". In this quarter there is a longing for the Kekkonen era when there was no doubt in anyone's mind as to who gave the orders and where we stood.

#### Foreign Policy Criticism

Public concern has been primarily channeled through the SKP [Finnish Communist Party] and the chief organ of its minority faction. Recently, SKP Chairman Jouko Kajanoja also dared to direct criticism against "Finland's foreign policy leadership".

"A trend toward selfishness and passivity has been evident for several years already in Finland's foreign policy at the same time that an increasingly aggravated world situation would require a more active, peaceful, and solidarity-oriented foreign policy," criticized Kajanoja.

In its most concrete form criticism is at this time being directed, for example, at the fact that neither Koivisto or anyone else has spoken out with sufficient unambiguity against the approaching deployment of U.S. Euro-missiles in Western Europe. Such a stand was demanded of Koivisto most recently in connection with the forthcoming session of the UN General Assembly.

The sharpening of the Euro-missile stand has been restrained by the upcoming U.S. visit, which has certainly also been considered to be set in accordance

with Finland's policy of neutrality and which is considered to be particularly significant at this point in time.

Kekkonen considered it important from the point of view of Finland's image of neutrality to visit the United States as soon as possible after his first official visit to the Soviet Union. After extending the YYA [Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid ] Pact by 20 years in 1970 Kekkonen once again hastened to make another visit to Washington.

Koivisto has attempted to follow the footsteps of his predecessor. He was prepared to extend the YYA Pact ahead of schedule immediately during his first official state visit. Accordingly, he wanted to follow this up with an immediate visit to Washington, the arrangement of which was considered to be a demonstration of a particularly favorable attitude on the part of Washington so soon after a visit to the Soviet Union.

Now the visit by Finland's president is threatening to be overshadowed by the airliner incident and a new strain in relations between the superpowers. The indifferent manner evident from the diplomatic maneuverings of the White House in announcing the postponement of the visit is an unintentional but graphic demonstration of how unimportant a small neutral country is in the maelstrom of great events from the point of view of a superpower.

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## JAPAN'S NAKASONE TRIES TO CALM FINLANDIZATION-TYPE STATEMENT

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 10 Sep 83 p 8

[Article: "Nakasone Trusts in Finland's Ability to Defend Its Borders"]

[Text] Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone trusts in Finland's ability to defend its borders after all. Prime Minister Nakasone has revised his understanding in an exchange of letters with Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa.

For some time already the Japanese press has quoted information according to which Nakasone has resolved his conflict with the Finns, a dispute caused by his statement on Finland in June.

Nakasone, who is known in Japan as an enthusiastic supporter of military defense, has demanded that Japan raise its level of armaments since otherwise "we will become a country like Finland begging for mercy".

Finland took offence at Nakasone's evaluation presented in connection with his election campaign in Japan and it announced that Japan's prime minister has given a misleading impression of Finland and its relations with the Soviet Union.

Prime Minister Nakasone's statement aroused a considerable fuss in Japan and even compelled the country's foreign ministry to state that if Finland had acted as Nakasone alleged, it would not be in existence.

In the Foreign Ministry we do not understand why Prime Minister Nakasone felt compelled to disparage Finland since we have never had any problems with Japan according to a statement of the Foreign Ministry.

Subsequently, Prime Minister Nakasone has corresponded with Prime Minister Sorsa according to Finnish government sources and Nakasone's statement has been clarified on the basis of this correspondence.

In his letters Nakasone has expressed "his high regard for Finland's independent defense capability". Moreover, the prime ministers are convinced that the development of relations between the two countries is continuing in a positive manner.

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CSO: 3617/180

## STALINISTS COOL TOWARD KAUPPILA AS USSR SOCIETY CHAIRMAN

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 27 Aug 83 p 2

[Article: "Finnish Communist Party Disputes USSR Society Chairman"]

[Text] The Finnish Communist Party is having difficulties in finding from within its ranks a new general secretary for the Finland-USSR Society satisfactory to both factions.

Christina Porkkala, the present general secretary of the society, is numbered among the SKP [Finnish Communist Party] minority. Her candidate as the new general secretary is Timo Karvonen, the society's education secretary, who would be the society's general secretary already in the second generation. However, there is "perhaps an even better" name in the minority's back pocket.

The candidate of the party's majority is Erkki Kauppila, chief editor of KANSAN UUTISET, who in the opinion of the minority does not enjoy the undivided approval of the organization's other faction and of the SKP's fraternal party, the CPSU.

Since even the Taistoites [Stalinists] do not have this undivided support, Finnish Communists are being encouraged to reach a conciliatory solution in this matter only by the information that hope is being expressed in the fraternal party that a harmonious result can be achieved.

In the SKP the Finland-USSR Society's general secretary question is seen as a significant matter and the finding of a joint candidate is considered to be absolutely important from the point of view of harmony between the factions.

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## BRIEFS

**BUSINESS LEADERS POLLED ON PARTY PREFERENCES**--The political affiliations of business leaders is revealed in the poll. Clearly, the majority identified itself with the Conservative Party, which was supported by 58 percent of the members of the STK [Finnish Employers Association] and 48 percent of the directors belonging to the LTK [Commercial Employers Association]. The second largest group within the STK was comprised of the nonaffiliated, of whom 23 percent responding fell into this category. The Center Party was supported by 3.5 percent, the RKP [Swedish People's Party] by 5.8 percent, the SDP by 2.4 percent, the Liberals by 1 percent, the SKL [Finnish Christian League] by 0.5 percent, the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] by 0.3 percent, and the SMP [Finnish Rural Party] as well as the POP [Constitutionalist Rightwing Party] by 0.2 percent. No view at all was given by 5.5 percent. The distribution of support among business leaders in the LTK was somewhat greater. The Center Party received 10.5 percent, the SDP and the RKP 5 percent, the Liberal Christians and the SKDL 1 percent. The nonaffiliated made up 25 percent of the LTK and 4 percent had no opinion at all. Support for the Conservative Party was at its highest (58 percent) in the age group under 30. It was at its lowest (49.5) among those between the ages of 51--60. [Excerpt] [Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 27 Aug 83 p 6] 10576

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## PRIVILEGED STATUS IN U.S. TERMED LIKELY FOR AMARAL

Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 13 Sep 83 p 4

[Excerpts] The position of the Portuguese government with regard to possible sanctions against the Soviet Union, following the boycott of Aeroflot flights which NATO has decided to impose because of the shooting down of the South Korean plane, "may be analyzed" at the meeting of the Council of Ministers which is still in progress as this issue goes to press, the Office of the President of the Council has informed us. It was stressed that Mota Amaral's government gave instructions yesterday to the Azorian airline, SATA, to refuse technical service to Aeroflot planes for a period of 3 months.

If the government of the republic should fail to approve steps to boycott Aeroflot, Mota Amaral will appear in Washington tomorrow as the "strong man" of the Portuguese delegation, since the United States of course would not view a seemingly neutral Portuguese position on such a delicate matter with favor.

In any case, the Azores took the lead over Lisbon in this matter, first with a statement by the PSD [Social Democratic Party] of the Azores itself, which was vastly harsher and more energetic than the position adopted by the party in Lisbon. And, secondly, the regional government heeded the party demands and gave SATA instructions which in practice constitute a de facto boycott of possible landings by Aeroflot planes.

In brief, the Azores have taken a position with regard to the United States as the politically more "Atlantic part of Portugal." The Americans are unlikely to fail to take this into account in the renegotiation on the Lajes issue, giving Mota Amaral "privileged status" as an interlocutor, which will certainly not be to the taste of either Jaime Gama or Lisbon.

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## POSITION OF CDS WITH PIRES LEADERSHIP ANALYZED

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 15 Sep 83 p 2

[Editorial: "The New Alliance"]

[Text] The least that can be said about the circumstances under which Lucas Pires took over leadership of the CDS is that they were hardly propitious. Internally, apart from the fact that the shadow of Freitas do Amaral is still ever-present, there was the fear of schism, or at least of limited collaboration from the supporters of Luis Barbosa. Externally, the creation of the Central Bloc, linked with the limited electoral percentage won by the centrists, left them in a situation which some regarded as advantageous in the long run, but which in the short run not only deprived them of a substantial part of the weight they had in the state apparatus, but also condemned them to moderate opposition for as long as the government fails to give them an opportunity for more.

Faced with a political picture of this sort, one can hardly imagine this party back in position to make a plausible return to the sphere of power. Earlier, it succeeded in doing this, twice over, both times through alliances. Now, however, its two successive allies comprise the bloc with a broad majority to which the CDS will have to serve as the opposition. To imagine winning votes enough to guarantee a solitary return in the coming legislative elections is unlikely for those who thus far have never come close to having such a goal. This being the case, the development of circumstances favorable to the CDS only seems possible through "untangling the skein" which led to the creation of the Central Bloc.

The fact is, however, that even prior to the legislative elections, the CDS will have to deal with the problem of the presidential elections. And if on the one hand this period may face it with the difficult task of combatting a candidate who may be supported by the Central Bloc, it will also, on the other hand, provide a perhaps decisive opportunity for the party in the near future. This is the reason for directing its opposition, beginning now, not only against the government as a whole, but against the prime minister in particular. Those who have read the statements by Lucas Pires will note to what point this constitutes an important portion of the present strategy of the CDS.

Obviously it is still too soon, and will be in the near future, to anticipate any alternative. And this is not even what is involved. The issue involves

creating as broad an area of discontent as possible, an area which for the time being has the CDS as its natural pole of attraction, but which may find echoes, perhaps as yet unnoted, within the PSD [Social Democratic Party]. It is possible that no one yet knows specifically what this base will prove to be. Lucas Pires calls it the "new alliance," but perhaps this is only because this reference strikes a cord in the memory of the voters.

We are still in the phase of suggesting hypotheses. Which does not mean that this is a calm period for the centrists, particularly if we realize not only that they were in the government until just a short time ago, but also because the present government seems to have opted to take steps which could more easily be challenged by the PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] than by the CDS.

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## PSD RELATIONS WITH ARAB WORLD CLARIFIED

Lisbon POVO LIVRE in Portuguese 7 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Suleiman Vally Mamede, PSD [Social Democratic Party] CRI  
[International Relations Commission] official for the Arab world]

[Text] We have always held the view that relations with the Arab world should not be focused on petrodollars alone, because true friendship must be based on respect between the peoples and mutuality in national interests. On the other hand, the common cultural heritage and centuries of coexistence between the Arabs and the people of Portugal have created responsibilities which we must not under any circumstances abandon.

We are pleased to stress the fact that contacts between the Social Democratic Party and the Arab world began in the era of Dr Francisco Sa Carneiro, in 1979, and have multiplied on various levels since then.

Thanks to the constant effort pursued by the International Relations Commission, under the direct guidance of Dr Francisco Pinto Balsemao, the party, which had previously been unknown in the majority of the Arab countries or was regarded with a certain mistrust (due to the dark campaign waged against us abroad by the communist party), is beginning to be known and to have a new image. At our national headquarters, Arab diplomats and delegations which have come from foreign countries specifically for the purpose are now being welcomed.

It can be said that the PSD is beginning gradually to win the respect which is due it by right from all the Arabs, whether they be progressives or so-called conservatives, emerging, whenever necessary, and with regard to all of the countries in this region, as a privileged interlocutor (for example, the official relations established with Saudi Arabia, the work done with a view to the establishment of embassies representing some Arab countries in Portugal, the liberation of the Portuguese fishermen 2 years ago after their seizure by the Saharans, etc.).

The clarification of some points regarded as "burning issues" in connection with the Arab world within the International Relations Commission of the Social Democratic Party led Arab officials to begin to believe in our good intentions. Among other examples, we will cite just three clear party positions where the Arab complex of problems is concerned.



### 1. The Arab-Israeli Conflict in General

This conflict can only be resolved when the rights of all of the peoples in the region have been taken into account. As a reform party, we favor dialogue above all, in which connection the resolutions of the United Nations cannot be ignored. Our party has always insisted that, in order for a just and lasting peace to be established in the Middle East, the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people must be taken into account, along with the defense and the existence of all the states in the region, including Israel and Lebanon.

### 2. The Situation in Lebanon

On the subject of the foreign troops stationed in Lebanon, it is our view that the sovereignty of a country is being violated for as long as these forces remain there (against the will of the legitimate government). Therefore, we favor the total withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed there, so that the national identity and total independence of that country can be safeguarded.

### 3. The Palestinian Problem

The Palestinian people have the legitimate right to establish themselves as a free and independent country, a principle which is recognized in practice by most of the members of the United Nations. It should however be noted that it is not for us to decide where this state should or should not be established.

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## RAPPROCHEMENT WITH AFRICA FAVORED OVER EEC MEMBERSHIP

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 8 Sep 83 p 16

[Article by Antonio Alves: "When the Prophets Are Right"]

[Text] To paraphrase a popular saying, we might state that "prophets are never right," and this maxim, moreover, corresponds to what happens in everyday practice. There are however occasions when the "prophet" works the miracle of winning recognition that "he is right." This is what has happened now with the views Bernardo Guedes da Silva has been proclaiming for 6 years about the path Portugal should pursue in order to put the financial, economic and social crises it is facing behind it. These opinions are shared by the irreproachable and clearly defined French politician Jacques Chirac, president of the French PRP and the "mayor" of Paris, in an article published recently by the evening paper O GLOBO and written especially for Portuguese readers. Just as Guedes da Silva has always urged, Chirac too advises Portugal and its government leaders against pursuing the long, complex and delayed process of membership in the EEC, and, as Guedes da Silva has been doing, the "mayor" of Paris stresses that "Portugal will be able to contribute to the realization of the Euro-African concept, in which the two continents have a vital interest, or again, opening up the EEC to the Portuguese-speaking world." But the greatest "miracle" is to be found with two of the most enthusiastic advocates ever of membership in the EEC, who a few days ago came to the admission that Portugal must look for other solutions because of the difficulties still being encountered in the negotiations. They spoke specifically of rapprochement with the new Portuguese-speaking African countries. These individuals are Prime Minister Mario Soares and Minister of Foreign Affairs Jaime Gama.

After his recent trip to Greece, Prime Minister Mario Soares could not fail to recognize the fact that Portugal may very possibly not be able to profit from the Greek presidency of the EEC in connection with its much-vaunted membership. It will be necessary to wait for the next presidency, which will fall to France. Minister Jaime Gama, who also made that trip, stated positively on his arrival in Lisbon that Africa would be an alternative solution to consider. And the president of the European Integration Commission, Antonio Marta, made no secret, at that same time, of the difficulties still hindering the negotiations, with agreements still lacking on three of the main "files"--agriculture, fishing and the free exchange of workers.

## Common Market Crisis

Bernardo Guedes da Silva has been an enthusiastic advocate of rapprochement with Africa, both in his lectures and in articles published in the press and in interviews granted to newspapers and on radio programs. In a consistent position opposed to the European policy of the successive constitutional governments, Guedes da Silva has insisted on the decadence which has developed in the Common Market. In 1978, during a lecture he delivered to the Literary Union, he emphasized that with every passing day the dream of membership in the Common Market was growing more distant. In fact, time proved him right, and as he said in an interview granted to O GLOBO last July, the Common Market, as Jean Monnet dreamed of it, is at its end. Its days are numbered. "Today we are about to see the Common Market divide in two. President Mitterand is already talking about the possibility of creating two common markets, one for the countries in the northern part of Europe and another for the countries in the south, with the North African nations also included in the latter."

In the article he wrote for the Portuguese readership, Jacques Chirac defended the view that the EEC should carry out the necessary reform after the crisis in which it finds itself, by means of an overall strategy of European recovery designed to establish the foundations of a second-generation Europe, and "it should only attempt reconciliation, in the foreign policy sector, and never the merger of certain national and traditional orientations." In other words, this is what Guedes da Silva says when he notes that the cause of the EEC crisis is the fact that the Group of 10 has gone too far in the effort to become a single unit, as if it were possible, through the drafting of a treaty, to do away with the Europe of the fatherlands. These fatherlands are highly valued by the citizens of each of the 10 countries, and at times of world crisis, they render better service to the desire of the communities to struggle and win on a national basis, as a contribution to the building of a better world, wherein there will obviously be a more just society.

## Rapprochement With Africa

The view of Jacques Chirac as to the role Portugal should play in Africa is, as we have seen, of the greatest importance. As for Guedes da Silva, he believes that any economic proposal for the Portuguese nation "must not ignore the establishment and development of mixed centers of cooperation with the Portuguese-speaking African countries, as a way of creating collaboration on interests which lie above and beyond Africa and Europe, where these countries and Portugal are concerned, and in the geographic scenario which encompasses both parties."

Relations with Africa are basic for Portugal, according to Guedes da Silva, both in terms of maintaining certain types of industries, above all in the metal-mechanical, and to a certain extent, the textile, sectors. "The former overseas provinces, the new Portuguese-speaking countries, can in fact constitute a nucleus from which a certain Portuguese economic recovery can radiate."

To conclude, after 6 years of "preaching in the desert," Bernardo Guedes da Silva has pulled off the "miracle," although indirectly, of getting some of his countrymen who hold key posts in the administrative apparatus to say that he is right, defending theses they had previously rejected or regarded as unsuited to the national interests, while abroad, one of the most influential European statesmen, Jacques Chirac, has sketched out for Portugal concepts identical to those he has been urging.

#### Bonds Linking Maputo to Lisbon Strengthened

Dr Almeida Santos, minister of state and assistant to the prime minister, returned to Lisbon yesterday after paying an official 5-day visit to the People's Republic of Mozambique, where he was the recipient of indications of high regard on the part of the chief of state and the cabinet of Mozambique.

On his departure for Lisbon, the minister urged a new spirit of cooperation with that country, noting that tripartite financial cooperation would be a way of overcoming the present obstacles to the development of relations between the two countries.

During a 5-hour meeting he had with Samora Machel, the minister delivered a letter from the Portuguese prime minister to the president of Mozambique, in which Mario Soares says he is devoting "special attention to the development of cooperation between the two states," which it is hoped will be structured over the long term and will "not be confined solely to temporary interests."

The development of the proposal by Portuguese businessmen that some Mozambique undertakings which have come to a halt be reactivated was a possibility set forth by Almeida Santos. These are businesses which, the minister explained, would in a first phase combine Portuguese technology with the resources available in Mozambique. Later, and on the basis of the criteria for cooperation which would be agreed upon, new infrastructures would be created.

Mario Soares, who assigns "high priority" to the matter of cooperation, not only where Mozambique is concerned, but also cooperative relations with other Portuguese-speaking countries, expressed satisfaction, in his letter to Samora Machel, with the progress "it has already been possible to achieve" in this sector on the basis of "mutual interests and reciprocal advantages."

In the view of the prime minister, the difficulties and the austerity measures which the world economic crisis has imposed and suggested, and which are felt especially keenly "in small countries such as Portugal," will not "serve to diminish our enthusiasm and our desire to make every possible effort to broaden the field of our solidarity with Mozambique."

Mario Soares, who further recalled the contribution to the collective strengthening undertaken by the people of Mozambique which has been made by the Portuguese citizens living in Mozambique, whose presence constitutes "a permanent link of friendship" and a guarantee "that the coexistence between our two peoples will endure," says he looks forward "with high expectations"

to the visit to Portugal which the president of Mozambique is scheduled to make in the early days of October, placing "great hope" in the results which it will produce.

Almeida Santos visited the Portuguese pavilion at the Mozambique International Fair (FACIM-83), where he exchanged impressions with Portuguese businessmen who were also there.

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## DECLINE IN COMMUNIST PARTY RANKS REPORTED

Libson O DIA in Portuguese 12 Sep 83 p 9

[Excerpt] O MILITANTE, the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) bulletin, has announced that "the preparations for the congress are being utilized to encourage a recruiting campaign oriented in this or that direction." Contrary to what the PCP would have us believe, some resignations and withdrawals have occurred among the membership.

According to O MILITANTE, "a more careful analysis of the party membership is underway" in some organizations, "and a resolution is being found for a number of instances of individuals who are not properly within our ranks. This is a matter which must be dealt with, because it serves no purpose for us to cite an unrealistic number of comrades."

"It is therefore necessary to undertake a housecleaning, but not one which fails to take the correct political limits into account. It is necessary to know how to distinguish between those who do not belong in the party and those whose lack of participation or even disinterest is solely explained by the lack of regular contact with and aid from the officers in the various organizations."

The bulletin of the PCP organization, instead of admitting the desertions from the ranks for reasons known to all Portuguese citizens, says that culling some "lambs" from the flock need be neither more nor less than that. Finally, everything depends on the shepherd who fails to provide the care he should. And where is the bad wolf to be found? Finally, the problem of certain departures, of disinterest in the flock--it all comes down to a lack of contact and mutual aid to provide an understanding of an "ism" which it is claimed is purer and more perfect than the others.

## Fewer Recruits Than Resignations

O MILITANTE (how can that PCP bulletin reveal what is happening? Does Cunhal read it?) has gone so far as to report that "it can be seen in some organizations that recruiting, which is continuing, has failed to compensate for the resignations occurring. This is even happening on the level of some regions."

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## PSD MANEUVERS WITH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN VIEW

## New Strategy Reported

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 8 Sep 83 p 12

[Article by Anabela de St. Maurice]

[Text] The 1985 presidential elections may serve as the stage for a healthy assessment of the relative strength of the PS [Socialist Party] and the PSD [Social Democratic Party], if the nomination of two different candidates by those political parties is based on an agreement between the partners in the present government coalition. This solution, which is one of the three or four speculative possibilities in the minds of our politicians, has been gaining strength among the associates of Mota Pinto, vice president of the PSD.

The advocates of this alternative insist that it would only be viable if it were agreed between the PS and the PSD that the winning party would not add the post of prime minister to that of the presidency of the republic. Therefore, if the PS were to win the presidency, the PDS would garner the prime ministerial position, and vice versa.

This strategy is further based on the presumption that in this connection the social democrats will have a "strong" candidate truly reflecting the solidity and unity of the PSD itself.

Sources very close to Mota Pinto, highly optimistic about the functioning of the PSD in the government and the increasing stabilization felt within the party, are already predicting a happy outcome for the presidential election.

Given the hypothesis that the government with its current basic structure will remain functioning until the end of its term of office, thus stabilizing the political, economic and social life of the country—which a priori excludes the possibility of a victory for a military candidate in the election—the PSD leadership believes that the party may reap substantial dividends in the presidential election.

A reliable source in Mota Pinto's circle, when questioned by TEMPO, suggested that PSD support of the candidacy of Mario Soares would favor the election of Freitas do Amaral. From this point of view, this other strategy has been put forth in order to prevent the former leader of the CDS [Social Democratic Center Party] from winning back the AD [Democratic Alliance] voters.

### Optimistic Strategy

This would be based then on the hypothesis of an agreement reached between the PS and the PSD stipulating that the winning party would give the post of prime minister to the defeated party. And because it is unlikely that any candidate, either Eanist or representing the CDS or other political groups, will win on the first electoral round, the sources TEMPO interviewed advocate, along this line of thinking--that is that the PSD nominate a "strong" candidate--that the second round of the presidential election be shared by their party and the socialists.

### Eanist Candidate

This choice, however, while it might hinder the election of Freitas do Amaral, would favor the Eanist candidate, who with the votes of the PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] and the "less social democratic" fringes of the PS, would have a good possibility of getting to the second round. At that point, the strategy we have just explained would not work in favor of the social democrats.

On the other hand, if the PSD and the PS were in fact to reach the second presidential round--based on the assumption that the present government coalition has functioned well--the main dividends of this strategy would favor the PS first of all and the PSD only secondarily. In other words, the PSD would run alone for the Belem post to win Gomes Teixeira's leadership post.

### Too Soon

However, Mota Pinto does not seem interested in engaging in public speculation on the presidential election. In a statement to NP made last Saturday, the social democratic leader insisted that "at this time, with the presidential election more than 2 years away, it is too soon to take any stand on this subject."

The present deputy prime minister further volunteered that he has refused to "nurture the orchestrated speculations under way on this subject," referring directly to the suggestions made in the press about Antonio Capucho's interview with the periodical ABC.

After a tour of the PSD districts, Mota Pinto is pursuing his policy of consolidating party unity. The support and the welcome the social democratic leader says he encountered in his trip through the country was echoed in the Oporto district, where the Permanent Commission, meeting last Sunday, issued a statement voicing its "total support" of him.

### Civilian Candidate Likely

Lisbon DIARIO DE LISBOA in Portuguese 8 Sep 83 p 5

[Editorial: "Politics From A to Z--The Difficulties and Options Facing the PSD"]

[Text] The Social Democratic Party (PSD) has not yet emerged from the orphaned state into which it was plunged with the disappearance of its "chief," Francisco Sa Carneiro, under tragic and politically unforeseeable circumstances. The situation created required something more than placing another Francisco (Pinto Balsemao) in the post of the first (Sa Carneiro), adding, as justification for the improvisation and to persuade the membership, that he was--which was even true--the surviving "founder." The crisis in the party leadership dragged on and merged with the crisis in the leadership of the AD government. The concentration of party and government leadership in the same individual proved doubly negative, for the government and for the PSD.

With Francisco Pinto Balsemao out and those "ministers" and "ministerial candidates" of the PSD who were aligned with Mota Amaral or used him as a shield defeated, the winning triumvirate emerged at Montechoro: Eurico de Melo, Nascimento Rodrigues, Mota Pinto. The process of collective leadership led to the sponsorship of one leader--Carlos Mota Pinto. Nascimento Rodrigues and Eurico de Melo were relegated to the level of accessories to the leader. The death of the leadership of Francisco Pinto Balsemao in the government and the party was to produce a new national leader, the failed candidate for the prime ministerial post, Vitor Crespo. And the crisis within the PSD was to confirm Antonio Capucho's position in place and time.

But the PS-PSD government came along and the balance of the new leadership, put to the test in the electoral campaign, moreover, proved precarious. Mota Pinto joined the cabinet, assuming the responsibilities of deputy prime minister and defense minister. The secretary general of the PSD, Antonio Capucho, accepted the decorative post (in eras of austerity in particular) of minister for quality of life. Eurico de Melo moved out of the picture. Nascimento Rodrigues left the country temporarily. Vitor Crespo preferred sweet exile as Portuguese ambassador to the UNESCO to pursuing party politics. The Lisbon district--that other political pole of the PSD--moved toward "right-wing radicalism."

The internal crisis, involving both leaders and prospects, reflects the difficulties of adapting, in the heat of an electoral campaign in which the Socialist Party has been heavily criticized, to the political discourse of the new coalition. Antisocialist arguments were used to defend the "PSD, CDS, PPM [Popular Monarchist Party] coalition." Now the "PSD, PS coalition" is defending itself against the PCP and the rest of the left wing, but also against the CDS and the rest of the right wing. And it is now beginning to be said that this will last until the end of the legislature and into the "presidential elections."

The statements made by Francisco Pinto Balsemao and Alberto Joao Jardim about the political system, Mota Amaral's cautious silence, and the "rapprochement"--if the movement the results of which have now been reported can be thus termed--of Joao Salguiero to Mota Pinto--these are the positive and negative points of reference in an internal PSD crisis. It is a crisis to which the supporters of Helena Roseta and the friends of one Luis Fontoura, one Meneses Pimentel and one Viana Baptista are attentive. It is a crisis which has as



its background not only the problem of "sharing power" in the government, in the state, in the public sector, but also the future position of the PSD with 1985 in view, the presidency of the republic, the political actions of the party, its leaders, its bosses, and its businessmen.

The concern of Angelo Correia and the tranquil wager of Antonio Capucho are the paradigms of two states of mind in the PSD ranks. These are the two men who lost command posts in the state and the party and have now embarked on the reorganization of internal and external alliances. And they are the two men who, with a hand (still) in the party apparatus, have insisted on the coalition system and who believed that it is the present "sharing of power" which can provide continuity and an adequate base for cooperation with regard to the presidential election.

Within the party as well--and the PSD will not be the only instance--the factions, groups and movements are being organized as a function of the strategy for the presidential election. Not all of them go as far as Alberto Joao Jardim, who demands, for himself and for the insular PSD, full freedom to maneuver, but it is already obvious that on this issue the PSD is divided between the defenders of a PSD candidacy, voters for Mario Soares (direct or on the second round) and voters for Diogo Freitas do Amaral (or for a military candidate who would have his support). And those who want to see the party leader promoted to "presidential candidate" in order to clear the way for the renewal of the party leadership will not be lacking in the PSD, just as there are swarms of them in the PS.

But if it is not successful with "its own" military candidate, it will not be easy for the PSD to find a civilian candidate in the party ranks. Mota Pinto does not have the qualifications for running as a candidate against Mario Soares. He did not have in the legislative election campaign and his subordination in the cabinet, where he ranks below Mario Soares, has served to aggravate his unfavorable position. Mota Amaral is suspected of "Eanism" and tolerance for Balsemao. And Francisco Pinto Balsemao, in turn, has not yet decided, but while it is true he rejected London (the embassy) it is because he wants to be available to return to the party or to assume the position of a liberal federator.

Some of his "critics" now understand him, and because they are displeased by the subordination of Mota Pinto to Mario Soares in concrete politics, they favor a candidacy in support of which there would have to be a confluence of the Lucas Pires and Luis Barbosa factions. In any case, no one is considering a repetition of the errors in the candidacy of Soares Carneiro. The "civilianism" of which the Socialist Party proclaimed itself the herald has already become a decisive factor in the presidential choices.

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## PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE PSD LEADERSHIP ANALYZED

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 16 Sep 83 p 10

[Article by Fernanda Mestrinho: "Sole Leadership of the Party--A Gift to Mota Pinto Which Would Boomerang"]

[Text] Diffuse leadership, stubborn but as yet poorly organized opposition, and a "clientele" with constantly shifting support characterize the PSD [Social Democratic Party], the national council of which will meet this weekend in Oporto.

Some leaders have avoided their responsibilities in the party, while others are publicly beginning to move away from it. It may not yet be evident at this National Council meeting, but if "war" does not yet exist on Buenos Aires Street in Lisbon (where the PSD headquarters is located), the atmosphere is far from one of "team spirit."

## Who Commands and Who Presides?

The election of the president of the Permanent Commission (a post held by Prof Vitor Crespo, our next ambassador to the UNESCO) raised the issue of "who commands" in the party. With the possibility that Joao Salgueiro would accept the presidency of the commission eliminated, there was talk of the vice president and member of the triumvirate, Nascimento Rodrigues. As O JORNAL reported last week, Nascimento Rodrigues confirmed to the Political Commission that he is unavailable for the post. Nascimento Rodrigues, who will not participate in this National Council meeting because he has finally departed for Guinea-Bissau, where he will work for the ILO [International Labor Organization], would have two basic reasons, to our knowledge, the first having to do with the need to resume professional employment. It will be remembered that Nascimento Rodrigues is not a deputy, and he earns no income from political activities.

But more important than this is the question of the definition of authority within the PSD. What authority does the president of the Permanent Commission have? "Of course, he cannot even ask for a typist," we were told by a member of the Permanent Commission. "It is the secretary general who commands," he added. Thus Dr Antonio Capucho is the favorite "target" for many leaders. Not only because of his statements about the presidential election, but above all because he has the party "in hand."

Based on our information, Dr Nascimento Rodrigues would be much more willing to head the staff of POVO LIVRE, the official organ of the PSD, for example. This post has also been left vacant by Prof Vitor Crespo.

The Permanent Commission problem may be postponed. Nascimento Rodrigues will return from Guinea-Bissau at the end of October, and perhaps at that time he will feel that the conditions he deems indispensable for filling the post have been met.

#### A Hesitant Salgueiro

The question of the presidency of the parliamentary group also remains to be resolved. Joao Salgueiro's decision may be delayed for several more days.

The election of the president of the group will not be held until after 15 October. Dr Fernando Amaral, who is at present vice president of the Assembly of the Republic, was sounded out as an alternative to Joao Salgueiro, but he refused. Fernando Condesso, who is filling the post on an interim basis, is a candidate for the presidency, or possibly a vice presidency. If Joao Salgueiro does not accept, this poses yet another difficulty for the "comprehensive" policy of Mota Pinto.

#### A Gift Which Would Boomerang

Mota Pinto has now been invited to accept the presidency of the PSD at the next congress. Engineer Eurico de Melo announced this in an interview granted to POVO LIVRE, and Nascimento Rodrigues reiterated it in that same journal this week. Nor would this solution displease Antonio Capucho.

Mota Pinto, to whose electoral campaign (and with the replacement of Balsemao) the excellent electoral results were due, is likely to use the "Balsemao style" in party leadership, issuing an invitation to opponents in order to avoid opposition.

There are those who criticize Prof Mota Pinto for devoting so little time to the party. Decisions are made slowly and they are not always the best. For example, at 6 pm on Wednesday, the deadline for submitting the names of candidates for the Higher Mass Media Council, Prof Vitor Crespo was still making telephone calls to fill up the PSD slate. And the individuals chosen by the social democrats, with the exception of Norberto Lopes, are being described by leaders of that same party as secondary, in comparison to those of its coalition partner.

At the next congress, Mota Pinto may be the actual candidate for the presidency, at the suggestion of some leaders. This gift would boomerang, some say, since it is customary in the PSD to set the "leader" aside and go with a team. Then he and he alone would be assigned the responsibility for the Central Bloc of the government coalition and the presidential option to be adopted.

#### Absent From the Council Meeting

Helena Roseta and Mota Amaral, in addition to Nascimento Rodrigues, will be absent when the National Council meets. The head of the regional government of the Azores, who is not usually a participant, is accompanying the president of the republic on his official visit to the United States. Helena Roseta, who sent a letter to the meeting, has chosen, according to our information, to attend the meeting of self-governing bodies in Alcobaca.

#### Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa Will Attend

Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa will participate in his own right at the National Council meeting, having been elected this week to the presidency of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area Studies Office. He was elected by 31 votes, with three votes cast against him and one abstention. The Political Commission in this district is headed by Santana Lopes.

The frontal opposition to Mota Pinto has from the beginning been the National Council single slate (Santana Lopes and Conceicao Monteiro). In Oporto, Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa may try to win internal leadership away from the political officers. A meeting of this "faction" scheduled for today will define the strategy for the National Council meeting. The efforts to capitalize on the discontent have not yet begun, with the exception of Angelo Correia who, for personal reasons, has withdrawn from the political leadership post to which he was elected at Montechoro.

There are ever fewer "factions" in the PSD, leaving just "opinions." And within the party system, the PSD, as a young political commentator has noted, is tying up the right wing and misleading the left wing.

For the time being this National Council meeting can be regarded as a foretaste of the clash which will occur at the congress scheduled for February, which some would like to have postponed. For the time being, the political leadership need not be alarmed.

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## NEW LO CHAIRMAN MALM'S OPPOSITION TO FUND SEEN HURTING PALME

Stockholm DAGENS NYBETER in Swedish 11 Sep 83 p 10

[Article by Clas Barkman]

[Text] Since Stig Malm took over the post of spokesman after Gunnar Nilsson, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation has got a sharper profile on several issues. The change--for which Malm is considered personally responsible--has not only led to impaired relations with the employers' side but has also caused the Swedish Trade Union Confederation to be out of step with the government on several issues.

When the Social Democratic Party was in opposition, great harmony prevailed between the two branches of the labor movement. Today, with the Social Democratic Party in government, it is especially on the following issues that the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and the government no longer agree:

- Employment;
- Taxes;
- Wage-earners' Investment Funds;
- Wage policy.

This is the point of departure for the government's deliberations with the Swedish Trade Union Confederation next Tuesday on wage-earners' investment funds and the economic policy.

In all of these areas, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation today acts more as an actual interest organization for its 2.2 million members than as a support for the government.

"Our members must have something in return for their trade union fees. We have got a government to safeguard the national economy," they say within the Swedish Trade Union Confederation.

Squeeze

To the government, this development has had the effect that, among other things, on the wage-earners' investment funds issue it is somehow being squeezed between the Swedish Trade Union Confederation on the one side and the trades and industries on the other.

The distribution of parts between the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and the Social Democratic government has always been such that the Swedish Trade Union Confederation has taken priority to the party and has been putting more emphasis on the things which the party did not succeed in carrying through than it has been praising its achievements.

To the Social Democratic government, this distribution of tasks is not always an advantage. A large part of the expectations of a Social Democratic government is that it will be able to 'keep the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and other trade union movements calm.' This applies not least during periods of collective bargaining.

However, the Palme government has not been able to do that. Especially of late, the government has been criticized very angrily by the leadership of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation for the record-high unemployment rate--which affects the members of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation more than any other groups.

The difference in approach is that the Swedish Trade Union Confederation demands measures which have early effects on the employment situation. The government, on the other hand, wants to work on a more long-term basis.

#### Right Approach

"We cannot earmark larger amounts of money to ease unemployment each time new figures showing record-high unemployment rates are presented," they say within the Ministry of Finance.

The economists of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation--who do not represent the leadership of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation on all issues--state that real wages will have to be increased in order for consumption, production and thus employment to increase in this country. Even if, in this way, one lowers the unemployment rate in the country at the cost of increased deficit on the balance of trade, this is the right way, the economists of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation say.

Stig Malm has so far sufficed it to criticizing the government for applying too small amounts to solve the unemployment issue.

"The Thatcherists within the Ministry of Finance, who today want to save and cut down in order, in the first place, to reduce the national deficit, will have to answer for their standpoints. The same thing holds true of our Trade Union Confederation economists. The truth lies somewhere in the middle," Stig Malm says.

#### Adjustment of Tax Rates

The other issue on which the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and the Swedish Socialist Party have different opinions is that of tax reorganization.

The Swedish Trade Union Confederation finds that it primarily favors the higher incomes. The Swedish Trade Union Confederation now demands that the



tax rates for next year be adjusted against the background of the salary agreements entered into between the Negotiation Cartel for Salaried Employees in the Private Business Sector and the Swedish Employers' Confederation for 1983, 1984 and the first 6 months of 1985.

For 1983, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and the government disagree on how to calculate the outcome of the collective bargaining. The Swedish Trade Union Confederation claims that the Negotiation Cartel for Salaried Employees in the Private Business Sector this year obtained considerably more than the Swedish Trade Union Confederation.

The calculations within the Ministry of Finance, on the contrary, show that the Swedish Trade Union Confederation this year has largely obtained equally much as the other organizations of employees.

As for the next year's collective bargaining, the Trade Union Confederation and the government are completely agreed that the salary increased then obtained by the Negotiation Cartel for Salaried Employees in the Private Business Sector will not be in accordance with the government's crisis program, which involves, among other things, a limitation of the inflation to 4 percent.

To the Trade Union Confederation, only two alternatives remain to achieve fairness in relation to the civil servants.

The Trade Union Confederation either demands high nominal wage increases, thus rendering unfeasible the government's crisis program.

Or the Trade Union Confederation forces the government to change the tax rates for 1984. It will be difficult for the government to obtain support in parliament for such a change.

#### Wood Products Industry Workers' Congress

The problem was clearly illustrated at the congress last week of the Swedish Wood Products Industry Workers' Union.

Last Sunday, Bertil Jonsson, spokesman for the Swedish Wood Products Industry Workers' Union, demanded that the government adjust the tax rates to correct the injustice in relation to the civil servants.

Last Tuesday, Olof Palme spoke at the same congress, requesting restraint in respect of wage demands.

Another important issue on which the Trade Union Confederation differs from the Social Democratic government is the extent to which intervention may be made in the market economy without depressing it.

This appears clearly in the wage-earners' investment funds issue and, to a certain extent, also in connection with the wage policy of the Trade Union Confederation.

To a trade union such as the Trade Union Confederation, it is natural to work against the market forces and instead give priority to social and other objectives which favor its members.

To the government, it is not equally natural to act in such a way that the market economy is disturbed other than in emergency situations.

### Psychological Victory

On the wage-earners' investment funds issue, both the Trade Union Confederation and the Social Democratic Party now seem to realize and to agree with one another that the actual tangible outcome of the wage-earners' investment funds up to 1990 is negligible. It is rather more of a psychological victory to the labor movement that they are able to introduce the funds according to the most recent proposal.

What divides the Trade Union Confederation from the party on this issue is whether it has been worth all the sacrifices, as far as opinions are concerned, to obtain this psychological victory, i.e. to have introduced some form of wage-earner's investment funds.

Within the Trade Union Confederation, the answer is considered to be in the affirmative. The Trade Union Confederation would like to see the Edin proposal as the beginning of something larger and better.

The party is more hesitant. Instead, Olof Palme has mentioned various forms of regulations to prevent the investment funds from growing too large in the future.

The fact still remains that both the Trade Union Confederation and the Social Democratic Party, at their most recent congresses in 1981, adopted an investment funds proposal which is considerably more far-reaching than the one presented by P.O. Edin and others last summer. In addition, there is the Trade Union Confederation Report 1980, which clearly shows how the Trade Union Confederation wants the funds developed in the future. Neither the Trade Union Confederation nor the Social Democratic Party has questioned any of these decisions.

### Two Parts

The wage policy pursued by the Trade Union Confederation is another example of how differently the Trade Union Confederation and the Social Democratic Party evaluate what the market can cope with in respect of wage policy controls.

In other words, it is a question of how far the Trade Union Confederation can go in pursuing its solidary wage policy.

The solidary wage policy may be divided into two parts:

The first part aims at equal pay for equal work.

The second part aims at equal pay for all work.

It is primarily the latter part which is criticized by the party. This part of the solidary wage policy pursued by the Trade Union Confederation had the effect, for example, that in the fifties, sixties and seventies large parts of the textile industry were put out of business and people became unemployed.

#### Dancing Hand in Hand in Long Row

During the collective bargaining in 1983, the government, on several occasions, criticized the Trade Union Confederation among others for having index clauses in its agreements, i.e. clauses which provide for automatic wage increases for all groups if one group receives better pay. The government wants to put an end to this form of wage policy hand-in-hand dancing in long rows.

Here, the Trade Union Confederation has listened to the criticism and has started on the difficult road away from the general low-income rates which have applied in previous years.

In the fall, the Trade Union Confederation will continue along this line. Even if the collective bargaining of the year will not become centralized and coordinated between the Trade Union Confederation and the Swedish Employers' Confederation, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation will continue its solidary wage policy according to the line "equal pay for equal work."

The Trade Union Confederation is then expected to use for the first time its new work evaluation system which evaluates all jobs on the basis of a joint scale, which, among other things, takes into consideration the degree of difficulty of the job, occupational skill requirements, work environment, etc. With this new system it will be easy for the Trade Union Confederation to persuade the Swedish Metal Workers' Union to rejoin the joint organization of other trade unions under the Swedish Trade Union Confederation.

Even if tension exists today between Kanslihuset [government office building] and Norra Bantorget, stern relations between Social Democratic governments and the Swedish Trade Union Confederation have rather been the rule than the exception if one regards the issue in a historical perspective. In 1971, for example, the spokesman at the time for the Swedish Trade Union Confederation, Arne Geijer, made a speech at the Swedish Trade Union Confederation Congress in which he really cut down the Social Democratic government in power at the time.

#### Within the Family

Many of the problems existing between the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and the government are settled "within the family" in the fortnightly meetings which take place between the two branches of the labor movement. Other problems remain unsolved.

Although the Swedish Trade Union Confederation both criticizes and makes demands of the government, it is an exception for the government to reply to the charges and to scold the Trade Union Confederation in return.

An explanation of the party's sensitivity to the demands of the Trade Union Confederation is the fact that the majority of the members of the Social Democratic Party are members of the Trade Union Confederation. Of the party's approximately 1.2 million members, approximately 60-65 percent, or approximately 750,000 members, come directly from the Trade Union Confederation through collective arrangements.

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## BODSTROM, HIS APPOINTEES BRING NEW STYLE TO FOREIGN MINISTRY

Stockholm 7 DAGAR in Swedish 16 Sep 83 pp 11-12

[Commentary by Christina Jonsson and Ulf Wickbom]

[Text] Lennart Bodstrom, foreign minister since last year, recently returned home from the European security conference in Madrid, where he headed the big delegation. Otherwise it is mostly Olof Palme and Pierre Schori who appear in Swedish foreign policy.

One of the reasons why Olof Palme appointed Lennart Bodstrom foreign minister was the ability of the head of the Local Government Civil Servants' Union to "weather out a storm."

Lennart Bodstrom has now been "weathering storms" for nearly 12 months, and the hurricanes of Bahr, Bildt, Bodstrom (doctrine) and Hessel Island have been blowing across the country. At times, a strong breeze has been blowing in connection with subjects such as zones, UN-speeches, capital punishment, and the Finnish policy of neutrality.

Lennart Bodstrom has been "weathering the storms" and not even that--the fellow does not even admit that there have been any storms.

He comes to the door of his office, reading EXPRESSEN. His appearance is a bit tousled, just like the hand-painted flowers of the silk tapestry in the foreign minister's beautiful room. When he has finished leafing through EXPRESSEN and started his small tape recorder with the aid of a secretary, he says that he is satisfied with the policy pursued and his own contribution. That since the mass media and opponents without any moderation have been pulling and tearing, stating and writing ...

"In the course of the year, the debate came to resemble that of the thirties, as far as pitch was concerned, and that of the sixties, as far as our policy was concerned. In the sixties, it was more unfortunate for Olof Palme to join a demonstration for Vietnam than for a superpower to crush a small country."

#### Explanations

We discuss some of the storms, and Lennart Bodstrom generally dismisses the criticism as dealing with questions of procedure and formalities, not substance.



On the Bahr Affair:

"We do not recognize that name. It is almost pathological that a project of this magnitude--i.e. the withdrawal of certain nuclear weapons--was discussed in Bahr terms. It was a question of a leakage within the Foreign Ministry, and the leakage became the main issue."

On the UN speech, in which Lennart Bodstrom, among other things, accused the United States of supporting unstable military dictatorships in Central America:

"The reason why it became an affair was the handling by the Swedish mass media of my speech. The American embassy here in Stockholm has not even mentioned that passage of my speech."

On the Bodstrom doctrine, i.e. the statement that Sweden ought not to criticize the systems of other countries, only individual incidents:

"The doctrine does not exist. When I said what I did, both foreign ministry people and diplomats from other countries were of the opinion that it was the right thing to say. Then some Liberal Party members started pulling at a straw in the whole thing (the joke is unintentional, the foreign minister says) and made ideology out of it."

On the statement that Finnish neutrality and Swedish neutrality are equivalent despite Finland's Pact of Friendship and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union:

"Only the minority communists in Finland and SVENSKA DAGBLADET considered this sensational."

Lennart Bodstrom comments on one issue after the other. He has got a folder full of press cuttings, reports on his own statements, reactions from foreign commentators, and he is busy leafing through it. At no point does he take back anything he has said. When he accidentally mentions that nobody can ever deny his background, one recognizes the significance of the fact that he began as a union boss. He insists in each individual case on an interpretive preference.

"We Are Being Noticed More"

What is it then that the spiteful critics missed, what are the big positive changes in their foreign policy?

"The big difference between our Social Democratic foreign policy and the non-socialist foreign policy pursued by our predecessor is that the outside world notices us more. We have brought about a debate on nuclear weapons in Europe and in the Nordic countries, and we have stressed our absolute freedom from alliances and also marked our European affinity."

This is the way our new foreign minister talks. He sounds like a copy of an interview with a statesman in DER SPIEGEL. The words "confidence inspiring"

and "peace promoting" reoccur constantly, as Sweden almost got into war with Denmark.

Lennart Bodstrom does not find that Olof Palme was rather hard on our Danish neighbor.

In a conversation with him, it is naturally Olof Palme's name which keeps coming up again and again.

There is an anecdote which illustrates what many people consider to be characteristic of Lennart Bodstrom's position:

Minister of Social Affairs Sten Andersson was celebrating his anniversary, and among the congratulators were Lennart Bodstrom and Ingvar Carlsson, who arrived in the same taxi. The person celebrating his anniversary appeared with the words:

"How exceedingly complimentary! Imagine being congratulated by both the deputy prime minister and the deputy foreign minister!"

Is the story true?

"Well. I know, however, that anecdotes usually emerge in connection with persons of my position, and I want to point out that I do not mind this anecdote."

The foreign minister, however, does not smile, so it cannot be the funny aspects of the anecdote that he likes.

"It is about time to destroy the myth that foreign policy belongs to a particular person. I do not claim that I can match Olof Palme, an internationally esteemed and known politician. I am glad that he himself asked me whether I wanted to take this job."

Lennart Bodstrom also points out that the prime minister and he himself have not had different opinions on anything so far, and he assumes that they will not in the future either.

#### Palme Knows More People

As head of the Local Government Civil Servants' Union, Lennart Bodstrom travelled a lot, but he also points out that he has got far from as many international contacts and personal friends as the prime minister. But Henry Kissinger, for example, came by the Foreign Ministry after having met his good friend Olof Palme.

"I was delighted that Kissinger would walk through a snowy Stockholm, without police escort, to come here to talk with me. We had a good time together."

We revert to topical issues, and, again, the face of the foreign minister darkens. Claimed mistakes are not mistakes, claimed errors no errors, not in substance. When the history is written on the foreign policy pursued during the years 1982/83, this will show, says Lennart Bodstrom. Statements to the

effect that the classical diplomatic role of the Foreign Ministry has deteriorated, that the cooperation sometimes is not working too smoothly, are equally false.

Many people have described Lennart Bodstrom in flattering terms: He has got personal courage, is intelligent, hard-working, scrupulous. There are probably many of us who have evidence that he makes amusing after-dinner speeches, for some humor seldom is appreciated. And he is very sensitive to criticism.

But he is coping. Unpleasantly affected by criticism, which he does not take too well. But still.

#### Soloists Dominating Entire Foreign Ministry

Within Lennart Bodstrom's foreign ministry, many people are talking about a Malaise. This is a diplomatic way of expressing a general feeling of inability to act. The civil servants in the palace of the crown prince feel like extras in the foreign policy which is being increasingly safeguarded by the soloists Olof Palme and Pierre Schori. Anders Ferm, ambassador to the United Nations, completes the international troika of the Social Democrats.

When the chief of the Local Government Civil Servants' Union, Lennart Bodstrom surprisingly--and to his own surprise--was appointed foreign minister, it was clear that Olof Palme had chosen a person who would be safeguarding the everyday work of the foreign ministry, be its administrative head and representative. Bodstrom himself explained that he had two interests in the field: Europe, which he knew from several trips to Brussels, and the international unemployment problem, which Sweden ought to solve. He soon procured his party card and made his entry into the fine salons.

Lennart Bodstrom rapidly became popular within the foreign ministry. His predecessor Ola Ullsten had not been there sufficiently often to achieve that.

Bodstrom was alert, interested, well-prepared and quick to grasp a situation. At the social gatherings of the staff of the foreign ministry, he made amusing speeches, sang tunes from old students' farces, and laughed at other people's jokes about himself.

But nobody knew what he had in mind to do as foreign minister.

He first stressed the significance of trade issues. Minister of Foreign Trade Mats Hellstrom and his permanent secretary Carl-Johan Åberg, then stepped in, taking control of these matters--not without progress. Many people who have seen Mats Hellstrom during his Swedish Social Democratic Youth League days find it difficult to grasp that the young man who wanted to nationalize the banks and half the kingdom has now even become the commercial agent of Swedish export enterprises.

A storm started in connection with the so-called Bodstrom doctrine, which actually only showed one thing: Bodstrom had almost from the very beginning been picked as the one on whom the political opponents and the mass media would be picking. His blunders were watched and became exaggerated.

As chief of the Local Government Civil Servants' Union, he was used to things being the way he wanted them to be. Nobody was allowed to make any comments on this until he had been given permission to do so. As foreign minister, he found that the world did things as it wanted, and if he said anything about this, it only made things worse.

It has increasingly been Olof Palme who carries on the foreign policy together with Pierre Schori, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Schori used to be the international secretary of the Social Democrats. He, therefore, greatly lacks the need and the habit of making himself useful within the Foreign Ministry. Schori and Bodstrom do not have the cooperation which is needed within the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The initial enthusiasm over Lennart Bodstrom, therefore, has changed into an increasingly impatient wonder at the lack of initiative and leadership.

Lennart Bodstrom has not been open to bribes in any of his own areas which would have given him a profile more or less like that of Karin Soder, who became the Aunt Green of the entire world--while the civil servants took care of the rest. He has few confidants within the ministry--actually only one: Christer Wretborn, his adviser, whom he took along from the Local Government Civil Servants' Union.

#### Missed Hessel Island

All of this may be the reason why the border conflict with Denmark grew into a crisis in the Nordic cooperation. The Foreign Ministry machinery never grasped the issue--until it was too late. The foreign minister was vacationing on Cyprus--out of reach to comment on the events, but within reach to keep well informed.

Olof Palme's temperamental style in foreign policy contributed to heating up relations with Denmark. In the previous Social Democratic government, Olof Palme was complemented by Sven Andersson, who in the course of the years developed an overwhelming authority and diplomatic talent.

It is in this situation that the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is now pinning its faith on a new name within the ministry: Jan Eliasson.

Jan Eliasson will be the new chief of the political department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The "political chief" is the third most important person within the ministry. This important function has in practice been vacant since the election.

The nonsocialist government had just managed to appoint Ambassador Lennart Eckerberg, who was close to Ola Ullsten and the other Liberals. After the election, he was put more or less in the background until he was appointed ambassador in Bonn.

Jan Eliasson comes from the cabinet office where he has been Olof Palme's foreign policy assistant. However, he is a career diplomat who is greatly trusted within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and even among the nonsocialist parties.

He was, among other things, secretary to the embassy in Washington during the 'Vietnam years' from 1970 to 1974 and chief of the information office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1977 to 1980. In 1980, he became chief of one of the divisions of the political department. However, when Olof Palme was given the task by the United Nations to mediate in the war between Iran and Iraq, he chose Eliasson as his assistant. Eliasson has since then been attached to the cabinet office.

Now that he is returning to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it will be maintained in some quarters that Olof Palme is taking an increasingly stronger hold of the foreign policy. Most people within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs seem, if anything, to be looking forward to a competent and efficient forceful person within the leadership. There is a vacuum to be filled and a malaise to be remedied.

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## DECISIVE SECOND YEAR OF RULE SEEN FACING PALME

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 20 Sep 83 p 2

[Editorial by Olof Kleberg: "One Year in Power"]

[Text] Last Monday, the Social Democratic Party celebrated the first anniversary of its election victory and Olof Palme the 30th anniversary of his entry into Kanslihuset [government office building]. Around the country, the party's fall offensive against inflation and unemployment is getting started.

The most recent opinion poll taken by SIFO [Swedish Institute of Public Opinion Research] in August probably caused the coffee at the various anniversary celebrations and the early fall party meetings to have a bitter taste. A definite decline by 2 percent and a clearly declining long-term trend. At the same time, for the first time in 4 years, the three nonsocialist parties have more supporters than the two socialist parties.

The Social Democrats took over, supported by the great expectations of many voters. Finally a strong government would solve the problems, guide Sweden out of the crisis. The appeals from the intensive election campaign against the government of middle parties were ringing in the ears of the voters.

It is true that the party made four specific election promises. However, the election was won, if anything, on the basis of a general feeling of confidence and the vision of a better future. It was in particular for three reasons--disgust at the disagreements among the nonsocialist parties, concern about the increasing unemployment rate, and dissatisfaction with the cuts in the social sector--that many new voters joined the Social Democrats.

There were inherent conflicts and opportunist idealizations in the election campaign with which the party had had problems ever since the election victory. However, the Social Democrats wanted to regain power at any cost--the end justified the means, which, in the long run, proved to be dangerous.

The Social Democrats quickly set to work at problems which they considered to be acute. A government, dominated by heavy-handed, authoritative and seemingly action-oriented people was formed. The decision on the part of the government of middle parties to make cuts in the social sector was overturned. A record devaluation was carried through. Large amounts of money--finally approximately 30 billion Swedish kronor--were earmarked for various employment promoting packages.

When the first months of feverish activity changed into the more everyday life of the government, the problems started emerging.

The strong government with a clear centralization of the power within the prime minister's office proved to be a government which often was too much in a hurry. The government encountered the strangest setbacks in the foreign policy area, in the very area where everybody had expected that it would be most successful. The new forestry policy was hurriedly implemented without proper preparations within the government, which created strong contrasts to the center. The cultural policy was only talked about, etc.

The strong government gradually also came to appear authoritative and impenetrable. The good days were over.

The fact that the internal conflicts which were hidden during the election campaign now really broke out was still worse, however. The conflicts between the expansionists with support from the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and the politicians pursuing an economic policy of restraint, with their center in the Ministry of Finance. The expansionists have been able to refer to the election campaign against social cuts and unemployment. The social promises and the efforts against unemployment at once increased the budget deficit by approximately 15 billion kronor. Even so, the unemployment rate has increased.

The expansionists are ready to increase the deficit even further. The problem is that traditional methods to increase the employment rate were utilized to the limit, and that the national economy could not tolerate an increased money supply.

A decisive year is in store. It is true that some trends point in the right direction. But now the difficult work is awaiting. By adhering to their wage-earners' investment funds and making changes in the tax agreement, the Social Democrats have greatly impaired their relations with the middle parties. They are referred to the Communist Party. But from the Communist Party they cannot expect any support in their efforts to restore the economy.

On their own, with accidental majorities, the Social Democrats, therefore, are forced to start their retreat from the expansive world of election promises. The awareness of crisis which had begun developing among Swedes during the last few years, moreover, now seems to have vanished. People believe that things will get better. That does not make the situation of the Social Democrats any easier.

However, they have themselves to blame for it. To gain power, they talked about elbow room instead of tightening of belts. But the elbow room does not exist. The heavy task of the Social Democratic government is two-fold: for one thing, they have to restrain the expansionists, for the other, they have to explain to the voters why things do not improve so greatly so easily.

As yet, the Social Democratic reappraisal has only started. But it will have to come now if the party is to have a chance to show any results in 1985.

## NONSOCIALIST PARTIES PULL AHEAD OF SDP: FUND IS REASON

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 19 Sep 83 p 12

[Article by Mats Carlbon and Ingemar Lofgren]

[Text] For the first time in 4 years, the nonsocialist bloc is larger than the socialist bloc. At any rate, according to the most recent poll taken by SIFO, the Swedish Institute of Public Opinion Research.

The nonsocialist parties now have a total of 49.5 percent of the support of the voters, while the Social Democrats and the Communist Left Party have 47 percent.

This is the public opinion situation today according to SIFO (changes compared with June figures in brackets):

|                                |      |         |                 |
|--------------------------------|------|---------|-----------------|
| Social Democratic Party .....  | 42.0 | percent | (-2.0)          |
| Communist Left Party .....     | 5.0  | "       | (not available) |
| Moderate Coalition Party ..... | 29.5 | "       | (+0.5)          |
| Center Party .....             | 14.5 | "       | (+1.5)          |
| Liberal Party .....            | 5.5  | "       | (+1.0)          |
| Other .....                    | 3.5  | "       | (-1.0)          |

At no time during the last 7 years have the three nonsocialist parties increased at the same time.

The result shows a statistically supported change of support compared with the June figures for the benefit of the nonsocialist bloc. It is now 2.5 percentage points ahead.

As far as the Social Democrats are concerned, the figures have not been as bad since March of 1979.

According to the poll, there is a direct flow of voters from the Social Democrats to the Moderates and vice versa. Since the election in 1982 the Social Democrats are reported to have lost approximately 1.2 percent of their voters to the Moderates.

As far as the middle parties are concerned, the corresponding figure lies below 1 percent.

The number of blank votes has increased. Four percent of the well over 1,000 persons who were interviewed by SIFO did not at all indicate any party affiliations. That is an increase by 0.5 percentage unit since last June.

The interviews took place between 24 August and 6 September 1983.

"The figures are a consequence of the fact that the Social Democrats have not been able to solve all the problems as rapidly as they promised in the election campaign," Ola Ullsten, spokesman for the Liberal Party says. "They took the chance that they would be able to conceal the economic realities, which led to exaggerated expectations among the voters. But that is tit for tat. Voters do not have too much patience with governments."

Ola Ullsten does not believe that the gains of the Liberal Party are connected with his own resignation.

"We are now largely back at the election result. It will be a nice start for Bengt Westerberg when he takes over. A change of party leader is often a positive thing, that is why this advance in all likelihood is the beginning of a more long-term advance for the Liberal Party," Ullsten says.

#### Wage-Earners' Investment Funds

"The shift in party affiliations coincides with the period during which the three nonsocialist parties have shown their unity in opposing the wage-earners' investment funds," Lars Tobisson, deputy spokesman for the Moderate Coalition Party, tells DAGENS NYHETER. The middle parties have made it clear that they are not ready for any controversies to the left. They are more reliable now than they used to be.

"Moreover, people have begun to discover that the promises made in the election campaign have not been fulfilled by the Social Democrats."

The distance between the Social Democrats and the Moderates is now smaller than ever, merely 12.5 percent, Tobisson points out.

"It is the trend toward two large parties which has caused an increasingly larger number of voters to leave the Social Democratic Party in order to join the Moderate Coalition Party," Tobisson says. "We have worked out a clear alternative which makes the step into our party a natural thing for people who get tired of the Social Democratic Party."

#### Policy Transparent

"I am not at all surprised at the SIFO figures. The voters have seen through the Social Democratic government policy," Allan Pettersson, party secretary of the Center Party, tells DAGENS NYHETER.

"There is absolutely no doubt that there has been a clear shift in voter support. Also the Center Party has got a good deal of those votes."

According to Pettersson, the background to the shift is that the Social Democrats made things far too easy for themselves during the election campaign. They created expectations which they were unable to live up to when they took over.

"During the election campaign, they said, among other things, that residential housing construction would increase, and that this would put Sweden back on its feet. However, nobody has seen the smoke from any new flats."

The debate on wage-earners' investment funds is another reason why the nonsocialists are now a few percentage points ahead of the Social Democratic block, Pettersson says. The demand for wage-earners' investment funds is an "incredibly stupid idea," he says, but is also the reason for the increase.

"We have pursued a straight policy. We have stated clearly that the investment funds will have to be scrapped if we get into power in 1985."

#### Profile

"The Social Democrats will have to start talking a clear language and show their socialist profile more clearly. Mention to the voters that the party through the investment funds wants to change the power structure in the Swedish society. Instead the party has chosen to compromise and crouch to the anti-funds propaganda on the part of the nonsocialist parties," Lars Werner, spokesman for the Communist Left Party, says in connection with the most recent SIFO poll.

The high unemployment rate is another reason for the setback of the Social Democrats, Werner says.

"Too little has happened since the election. The government has not tackled the unemployment problem the way they were expected to."

#### Patience

"It takes patience. One year is too short to build up what has been torn down in 6 years. With the exception of the years of emergency, no Swedish government in modern times has probably been faced with such a great and heavy task."

This statement was made by the party secretary of the Social Democratic Party in a comment on the SIFO poll.

Bo Torsson, however, takes a positive view of future developments.

"We now see that developments have started going in the right direction. Things go better for Swedish industry in the world market. The decline in industrial employment has stopped."

As far as employment is concerned, he says that the Social Democratic emergency policy has not yet had its full effect in this area.



## BRIEFS

MORE DETAILS ON FUND--The proposed five wage-earners' investment funds will not be expanded or supplemented with more funds after the year 1990. This information was provided by both Minister of Finance Kjell-Olof Feldt and P.O. Edin, the wage-earners' investment funds analyst, on the TV program 'Sounding' last Sunday night. The five funds are estimated by the year 1990 to have at their disposal between 14 and 17 billion kronor, i.e. approximately 6-7 percent of the market value. "The five funds ought not to become any larger, nor do I believe that there will be any further funds of this type then," Feldt said. "Our ambition to give wage-earners increased influence in the trades and industries and to create a more even distribution of wealth remains, but this is 'the step' as far as wage-earners' investment funds are concerned." Edin said that if the reform were to be developed further after 1990, it should be done in other forms. It is "unfortunate to have too big lumps." Rune Molin, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation's other spokesman, said that the Swedish Trade Union Confederation naturally has ambitions to democratize the trades and industries after 1990 as well, but how this is going to happen is an open question. "We shall have to see how the funds work in the eighties," Feldt added. "The Swedish parliament may each year make changes in the system if it does not work well. I should not hesitate to replace people on the boards if it turns out that the assets of the funds need to be administered better." Olof Ljunggren, managing director of the Swedish Employers' Association, maintained that, with total assets of 14 billion kronor, the funds may become dominant owners of all large industrial enterprises, perhaps with the exception of pharmaceutical enterprises. He assumed that government-appointed majorities for trade unions function worse than the type of boards which now exist within the trades and industries. By way of a personal statement, he added that it is hardly interesting for members of the Swedish Employers' Association to sit on future fund boards with wage-earner majorities. They would feel like hostages. [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 19 Sep 83 p 12] 7262

CSO: 3650/297

## LEADER OF NEW PEACE MOVEMENT DISCUSSES STAND ON U.S. BASES

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 31 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Baltser Andersen]

[Text] This year the transnational Eskimo organization Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), through its president Hans-Pavia Rosing, made public a protest against the expansion of a military base on Greenland by the Americans. Early this year it was revealed at a parliamentary hearing, called by Steen Folke (Left-Socialist Party) and Gert Petersen (Socialist People's Party), that the United States was spending about 80 million dollars for technological modernization of the Thule Air Base. This modernization program is at the center of the latest American strategy, which is based on the insane notion that it is possible to win a nuclear war. I will return to this idea, but first the ICC protest.

"We can no longer ignore the problem of the base simply because military matters are under the jurisdiction of the Danish government, according to the Home Rule Law," said Hans-Pavia Rosing. He went on to demand full knowledge of American activities at bases in Greenland and throughout the Arctic region.

In the ICC's own publication INUIT, No. 2 (1983) Hans-Pavia Rosing made the following statement, on behalf of the ICC leadership: "The Inuit Circumpolar Conference is seriously concerned about attempts to make the Arctic region a theater of war in case of a direct confrontation between the superpowers. Let me take this opportunity to invite Inuits in Greenland, Canada, and Alaska to initiate a public debate on the use of the Arctic region for military purposes.

Information on the American military presence must be made available to those who will be the first to experience the consequences of a war, the ICC president concluded.

This protest with the passages cited above and the promise of the Siumut Party [moderate leftist party favoring greater local autonomy] to take up the presence of the American bases at the next session of parliament, attention finally has been focused on a basic problem for Greenland and the peace movement. Otherwise, this problem has been a political taboo or, at best,

a matter of political indifference among public figures in Greenland and Denmark.

Of course, we in the recently founded Sorsunnata ("no war") peace movement welcome this new political interest. But it is about time that people here were made aware that the American military presence is depriving us of the right to manage our own affairs and represents a genuine danger.

By and large, it has escaped the attention of the Danish people, perhaps because of their narcissistic nature and complacency, that Greenland, far more than Denmark, is of primary strategic interest to the superpower and major imperialist force, the United States.

In terms of geography, the region around the North Pole is the closest zone between the United States and the USSR. In this regard, Greenland is a particularly important area, in that the entire American counterforce strategy is based on the facilities at the Thule Air Base. In his book *Greenland: Pearl of the Mediterranean*, Paul Claesson presented a detailed and documented study of this situation. It may be described briefly as follows:

In the late fifties, warning systems were constructed, at Thule and other bases, which were primarily defensive. The warning systems were grouped in a chain of radar facilities for detecting enemy military activity (especially involving nuclear missiles) to form the DEW line (radar stations on inland ice) and the so-called BMEWS station at the head of Wolstenholme Fjord northwest of Thule. But rapidly advancing technology has resulted in a new dangerous and aggressive military strategy called Counterforce. Previously the United States based its strategy on the principle of deterrence, called MAD (Mutual Assured Destruction). This meant that both superpowers would always possess a retaliatory capability, so that a nuclear war could lead only to mutual destruction.

But now the United States is openly using a counterforce strategy, in which a first strike could incapacitate the USSR. At the same time, to the horror of most people, the Reagan administration has come up with theories of "limited nuclear war," "prolonged nuclear war with the possibility of winning," and others. Thus, it is perfectly clear that the arms race has entered a dangerous phase and that the arms buildup itself is rapidly leading to the horrors of nuclear war.

Advancing technology--improved missile accuracy, antisatellite weapons, anti-submarine weapons, satellite-based navigational and tracking systems--have made it impossible to protect retaliatory weapons. The logical consequence (to the extent that the spiral of annihilation can be described in terms of human reason) was the introduction of the counterforce madness.

What concerns Greenland and Denmark in this regard is the vital significance of the Thule base for the effectiveness of this offensive strategy. The people and politicians of these two countries must be made aware of this

development because, in order to maintain world peace, we will need a massive popular and political rejection of the continued manipulations of the military-industrial complex in the direction of annihilation.

Sorsunnata has begun to contact many peace movements throughout the world, knowing full well that our resources are extremely limited, but understanding at the same time that the arms race and the strategy of terror must be halted or at least retarded during this decade. In this connection, we must see a massive popular movement for peace, disarmament, and understanding among peoples throughout the world.

The alternative is a continued arms buildup and an accelerated spiral of destruction toward the annihilation of civilization and perhaps the end of life on this planet. It is absolutely necessary to vote for or against destruction before it is too late to prevent our own self-created annihilation.

Back in 1980 the disarmament report of the United Nations stated that a belief in the balance of terror as a peacekeeping factor was based on faulty reasoning. The increased number of warheads in the world and technological advances increased the threat of war and the danger that more and more countries will obtain such weapons. In addition to the United States, the USSR, England, France, and China, nuclear weapons also exist in India and it is believed that Israel, South Africa, and Pakistan also possess such weapons another 20 to 30 countries also possess the necessary technology and knowledge to produce nuclear weapons.

As Paul Claesson pointed out, Greenland is in an extremely vulnerable strategic military position and, without the knowledge or desire of the people, it is being subjected to aggressive American military policies. It is the task of Sorsunnata, in cooperation with other groups such as the ICC and the political parties, to inform the people of these circumstances and make it possible to formulate the demands and desires of the people in peace initiatives.

The most urgent task, however, is for Greenland to oppose the deployment of the 572 medium range missiles in Western Europe. The arms race has reached an extremely critical point. It must be remembered that a victory for peace on this issue would open the door to great possibilities for the future of world peace.

Nuclear weapons must be made superfluous on our planet. Let us remember an old proverb from Kenya:

"Take good care of the earth. You have not taken it from your parents--you have borrowed it from your children."

9336  
CSO: 3613/206

## CP ORGAN PUBLISHES POLITBURO STATEMENT ON U.S. BASES, GOAL

Copenhagen LAND OG FOLK in Danish 1 Sep 83 p 1

[Text] At a meeting on Wednesday the executive committee of the DKP (Communist Party of Denmark) took a position on American plans for a military buildup in Greenland. A statement written at the meeting is presented below:

Denmark must immediate stop all negotiations with the United States on the expansion of the DEW line in Greenland. This radar system is vital to the control of American offensive missile systems and will result in the dangerous involvement of Greenland in the aggressive military strategy of the United States.

So far, negotiations with the United States have been conducted with the exclusion of the Danish and Greenlandic public. For this reason, the Danish government must now state clearly what is being negotiated with the United States.

The American plans are in clear contradiction to the resolutions unanimously approved by the Inuit Circumpolar Conference at Frobisher Bay in Canada this summer. The conference voted to work toward reducing military facilities in the Arctic regions. According to the Home Rule Law, Denmark has reserved the right to represent Greenland on foreign policy matters. This entails an obligation to make decisions in this area that correspond to the wishes of the Greenlandic people. For this reason, the American military buildup in Greenland must be rejected.

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CSO: 3613/206



## DESCRIPTION, USE OF MISSILES IN COUNTRY'S ARMED FORCES

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 11 Sep 83 pp 30-31

[Article: "What Missiles Does Finland Have?"]

[Text] Finland's Armed Forces have had missiles in their arsenal for 20 years now. The oldest of them have already been scrapped and Finland is now switching to its second generation of missiles.

Finland's newest missiles are antitank missiles and the Navy is getting new, latest state-of-the-art missile boats with their missiles. But modernization costs money. Finland does not, for example, have any target antiaircraft missiles at all.

Missiles and nuclear weapons are usually naturally associated with one another. Not all missiles, however, carry nuclear warheads, nor are all nuclear weapons fired at their targets by means of missiles. The first missiles arrived in Finland in 1963, shortly after the Paris peace treaty was reinterpreted. According to the new interpretation, Finland was allowed to procure missiles, but only defensive missiles.

So in Finland there are at present antiaircraft missiles, antitank missiles, naval defense missiles and "antiaircraft missiles" mounted on Air Force fighter planes.

For a missile to be a missile and not a rocket, it either has to be guided or seek its own target. Depending on missile types, there are many different guidance systems, but very often guidance is based on radar.

Some types of missiles can be handled by very small groups of men capable of operating quite independently. Often the missile itself is, however, only one part of a weapons system composed, for example, of observation and command radar installations, launching devices, engines and lastly missiles.

This being the case, its own characteristics alone do not determine the usability of the missile, rather the sum of the parts of the system does. What seems to be a weak system on paper may work well in a real situation and vice versa.

An example of a contradiction between theory and practice: During the Falklands War the Argentines were using obsolete French Super-Etendard attack fighters (airplanes) on which up-to-date Exocet naval target missiles, also French, were mounted.

With this old-new combination they sank the pride of the British Navy, the ultra-modern destroyer, "Sheffield."

In the Vietnam and Near East wars it was often noticed that in given situations they were able to successfully wage war with obsolete equipment, whereas, on the other hand, they were sometimes able to surprisingly enough destroy even up-to-date weapons systems.

Nevertheless, new is generally better than old equipment. The Finnish Army is right now switching to the new types, the second generation missiles, on land, at sea and in the air.

The classification of missiles into generations is based on an interminable scheme: weapon, counterweapon, weapon more effective than the counterweapon, counterweapon to the latter and so on.

The third generation of missiles is indeed on the way, but they are at least not yet in extensive use.

When experts compare missiles among themselves, they coldly talk of their "intelligence." It has, for example, been said that the RBS-15, a Swedish naval defense missile to be procured for Finland, is "cleverer" than the French Exocet used in the Falklands War.

Intended for the Helsinki class of missile boats, the RBS-15 can choose its target according to the requirements programmed into its computer. This means that the missile, of course, takes note of targets of less importance advancing on the perimeters of the naval squadron, but rejects them and chooses a fatter target.

A "stupid" first generation missile fixes on and follows the first target it observes and hits it, maybe.

There are, for example, first generation SS-N-2 Styx missiles on Finnish missile boats of the Tuima [fierce] class. During the 1967 Israeli-Egyptian War missile boats similar to those of the Tuima class succeeded in sinking the Israeli destroyer, "Eilat," with Styx missiles.

The Indians effectively used Styx missiles against the Pakistanis in December 1977.

The Styx missile system has been developed continuously since those days, but now it is already regarded as obsolete.

The future RBS and the old Styx are the Finnish Navy's only types of missiles. The Styx is also used by coastal artillery crews and they intend to develop the RBS missile in the same direction.

The Paris peace treaty was reinterpreted in January 1963 and in that very same year the first Vigilant antitank missiles arrived in Finland.

The Vigilant is a light, wire-guided missile with a range of just under 1.5 km. Today it is hopelessly outmoded because of its effect, sighting system and range. It has been phased out in Finland as it has elsewhere.

A year later we procured French SS-11 antitank missiles. Their firing range is over twice as great as the Vigilant's.

As early as the 1960's SS-11 missiles were also transferred to coastal defense installations and today they are used only for channel defense. SS-11 missiles no longer penetrate modern kinds of armor, but they are still quite useful in the Finnish archipelago.

The antitank missiles were the first to arrive and also the first to become obsolete. Understandably, with the exception of the Navy's RBS missile, Finland's latest missile procurements are precisely antitank missiles.

Last year it was decided to buy light antitank missiles of the type designated AT-4 from the Soviet Union. The so-called NATO nomenclature, developed in the West, is used for all Eastern weapons and the AT-4 is referred to as the Spigot in the Western nations. In Finland it is dubbed the PST [antitank] 82 missile.

The Spigot is a portable missile which is usually operated by a three-man missile team. The gunner carries the launching device and the assistant gunners each carry two missiles.

The Spigot can also be mounted on a jeep, for example, but they probably do not yet plan to do that in Finland. The first missiles arrived in Finland this spring.

The missile's range is about 2 km. In comparison with the antitank missiles previously used in Finland, aside from better penetrability, it has the added advantage of easy handling.

Training in the use of the Spigot has already begun in the armored brigade at Parola. According to recent information, missile gunners learn the basics in as little as 2 weeks, whereas their entire period of service was hardly sufficient to train gunners to use the older missiles.

The Spigot is a second generation antitank missile with an accuracy probability of from 90 to 95 percent. With first generation missiles the corresponding figure is at best about 60 percent.

#### Heavy Antitank Missile Purchased from the United States

These past few years tank armor has been developed to such a point that conventional antitank weapons are no longer as significant as they were before.

Modern laminated armor, which among other things contains ceramic elements, is already beginning to be immune to projectiles, for example. Because of this, counterweapon strength is being increased.

The American heavy TOW missile is in use in over 30 countries and this spring it was decided to procure TOW missiles for Finland too. TOW missiles are second generation missiles and they have been developed in three different models.

The missile Finland is getting is of the "Improved TOW" type. In the head of the missile there is a 20-cm-long nose with the help of which the charge in the body of the missile explodes at the most favorable distance from the armor plate,

The range of the missile is about 4 km and it will be called the PST-83 missile in Finland.

Right now the TOW-2, whose explosive power has been even further increased because of modern laminated armor, is being developed.

The TOW system can be carried as well as mounted on a vehicle. Launch-ready it weighs over 100 kg, but it can be broken down into approximately 20-kg packages that can be carried on men's backs.

But does it pay to lug heavy antitank missiles through the woods at a 5-km an hour march tempo? In several countries TOW missiles have been mounted on field vehicles that are capable of moving quickly to where striking power is needed.

In Finland two armored field vehicles are right now being developed, the Sisu and the Valmet. The Sisu is by nature faster, a kind of field truck, while the Valmet is closer to being a slowly shuffling forest tractor.

A Sisu-TOW missile combination is probably not very far from what Finnish generals have in mind and they are not arguing over the idea. They merely say that decisions have not yet been reached.

A TOW-Sisu would not, however, be a regular assault vehicle, rather one capable of striking swiftly, a very defensive combination. In addition to its suitability for cross-country use, its trump card would be precisely its speed, since attacking armored spearheads are getting faster and faster nowadays.

#### Army Needs More Antiaircraft Missiles

For many years Helsinki and Vienna were the only capitals in Europe that were not protected by antiaircraft missiles.

In the mid-1970's there was heated argument pro and con the procurement of antiaircraft missiles. Opponents were of the opinion that Finland did not need antiaircraft missiles at all. A handful of missiles would not settle anything if some superpower decided to attack from the air.



The proponents, nevertheless, won out and SA-3 antiaircraft missiles have been protecting Helsinki for several years now. In the NATO nomenclature the name of the missile system is Goa, while it is called Petsora in the country of its manufacture, the Soviet Union.

The designing of the SA-3 system began as early as the end of the 1950's, but it can still be regarded as quite serviceable. During the wars in the Near East the Israeli Air Force had great difficulties because of the Egyptian SA-3 missiles and in Vietnam too they were a source of trouble for American planes.

The firing range of the SA-3 missile is about 30 km at the outside and it is effective against aircraft flying at an altitude of as much as 15 km.

Although the SA-3 system is mobile, missiles are nonetheless fired from gun carriages on the ground. This means that missile batteries cannot move very quickly and that they have to have ready-built emplacements in different spots for launching.

The SA-3 is not of overly much help to front line troops. Finland lacks entirely so-called target antiaircraft missiles, whose striking range is greater than conventional antiaircraft guns and whose mobility is at least as good.

Target antiaircraft missiles are on the list of things both the General Staff and the antiaircraft crews hope to get. Systems suitable for Finland have been developed in both the Western nations and the Soviet Union.

Finland's antiaircraft system did not, however, enter the age of missiles via the big SA-3 missiles. A year earlier, in 1978, short-range SA-7 antiaircraft missiles that are fired from the shoulder of one man were purchased from the Soviet Union.

In the West that missile is called the Grail, in the East Strela [arrow] and in Finland the IT [antiaircraft] 78 missile. Its range is about 3.5 km and in vertical flight it reaches an altitude of 1.5 km.

These shoulder missiles are particularly effective against helicopters, but attack fighters are also in trouble with them.

#### Migs and Drakens Also Carry Missiles

The Air Force's first missiles arrived in this country at nearly the same time as the Vigilants, 20 years ago. AA-2 Atoll missiles, which seek out their targets with an infrared system, were procured from the Soviet Union for our Mig-21F defensive fighters.

The missile type designation was R-13 in the Soviet Union.

On current Mig-21 bis planes there are both radar-guided and infrared heat-seeking Atoll missiles which, despite the same name, have changed a great deal from what they were 20 years ago.



The same also applies to the fighters themselves. The current Mig-21 bis is an entirely different aircraft from the earlier P version, despite the same basic arrangement.

Originally American Falcon missiles of the AIM-4D and AIM-26B types can be suspended from the J-35-S Draken fighters procured from Sweden.

The former type is infrared heat-seeking and it is also manufactured in Sweden under the name of RB-28. The latter is radar-guided; the Swedish version is the RB-27.

All of the Air Force missiles are air-to-air missiles, aimed at fighting off attacking planes.

The Air Force only consented to say that it is using both Western and Soviet infrared heat-seeking and radar-guided aircraft missiles. According to international source publications, there are Falcons on the Drakens and Atolls on the Migs. The Air Force will not officially confirm this information.

In addition to the Drakens and Migs, the Air Force is using one operational jet plane, the Hawker Siddeley Hawk trainer-fighter. Its weaponry so far consists of only a 30-mm Aden aircraft cannon.

England's Air Force, the RAF, also uses Hawks as trainers. With crises in mind, they plan to mount American AIM-9L Sidewinder infrared heat-seeking missiles on them.

Sidewinders can also be launched at their targets from the forward section, that is, the attacking fighter does not have to drift into the field of vision of the defending plane's rear-view mirror.

This characteristic also makes it possible to use them on fairly slow trainer-fighters, but the Sidewinder was originally designed to be used with modern, first-line fighters.

The Air Force did not want to say anything about application of the Sidewinder. The importer of the Hawks, Machinery Oy, is, however, also prepared to import Sidewinders. The organization is prepared for a possible procurement.

During the next few years the Navy will be getting three modern Helsinki-class missile boats, but the equipment will have to be removed from the older boats because they are unwilling to keep them afloat.

Muoli [arrow]-class gunboats are chasing about the Gulf of Finland on their last legs, describing roaring arcs, and the rest of them will be phased out within a few years time.

#### Torpedoes Eliminated from the Navy

In addition to guns, Muoli armaments include torpedoes, which are launched with the Finnish-designed "poor man's side-launcher from the Porkkala repair shop." The Muoli has never had torpedo tubes.

In addition to the Nuolis, in Finland this past decade there have only been torpedoes on the Riga-class escorts purchased from the Soviet Union, the "Uusimaa" and the "Hameenmaa."

Only the "Hameenmaa" is still in use and it has been converted into a mine-layer.

When the Nuolis are eliminated, there will be no torpedo armaments at all on Navy vessels unless they go ahead and develop the electric torpedo project that has been under consideration for about 20 years now.

Right now old, conventional torpedoes dating back decades are indeed being converted to electrically operated ones, but as things look now they can only be fired from coastal batteries.

Development of a new type, an electric torpedo smaller than the old ones, has for a long time been kept on ice in Finland since the new missile boats have so far swallowed up a large part of the Navy's budgets.

The manufacturing license for the new Finnish type of electric torpedo has been sold to Sweden and Italy. On the basis of that license, the Swedes have manufactured their own type of electric torpedo, but the Finnish invention has not, however, been applied to Italian conditions because of the difference in the salt content of the two seas.

The new Finnish electric torpedo is smaller than an ordinary 2-ton torpedo, it is only 4 meters long and weighs 600 kg. Its diameter is 18 inches instead of the 21 inches of a conventional torpedo.

The electric torpedo runs quietly, does not leave a wake of bubbles and, more importantly, it can be guided if necessary. It can in fact be a submarine missile.

Electric torpedoes can be used against submarines too in addition to surface vessels and they can serve as a backup system to a missile system.

In Finland a suitable prototype vessel, the fiber glass-construction Hurja [wild] guard boat, has been built as an electric torpedo launcher. Propellers do not drive the Hurja forward, rather the water jet produced by the propellers located in tunnels do.

The Hurja has suffered a lot from children's diseases and most of the time it has been sitting quietly alongside the dock.

Helsinki-class missile boats have been a more important object of investment for Navy commander Vice Admiral Jan Klenberg than electric torpedoes. Within the Armed Forces, however, the question has been raised as to whether the new Swedish missiles need such expensive launchers or not, or whether they would perhaps be as effective or more effective located on the ground.

## What Is the Importance of Missiles?

So how many missiles are there in Finland and do they have decisive importance for our defense capability?

The General Staff says that the latest antitank missile procurements are quite important and that Finland is getting a fairly large number of missiles.

There is a shortage of antiaircraft missiles, they would like to have more of the new types and also target antiaircraft missiles in addition to those they now have.

According to General Staff missile experts, our coastal defense will be significantly improved when the new Swedish RBS missiles arrive. Especially if they also get them for use by the coastal artillery.

Aside from the half squadron proposed by the Third Parliamentary Defense Committee, one of the key issues for the Air Force is also armament for trainer-fighters.

In the first place, the Hawk trainer-fighters are certainly training planes, but we could also equip them with modern missiles as the British have done.

No staff officer will even be willing to offer exact information on the number of missiles they have. Before the Falklands crisis it was estimated that Argentina had six Exocet missiles, but, as the war wore on, either the English's head for figures betrayed them or the factory supplied more missiles.

As soon as the results were in, they were able to raise the price of Exocet missiles. Business is still good.

## SA-7

A short-range antiaircraft missile fired from the shoulder which is called the IT-78 missile, the Strela in the country of its manufacture, the Soviet Union, and the Grail in NATO nomenclature. It is much the same type as the American Redeye missile.

## Falcon

The American AIM-4D infrared and AIM-26B radar-guided missiles are also manufactured in Sweden. The common name for these missiles is Falcon and they constitute the chief armaments of the Saab J-35-S Draken fighters.

## AA-2 Atoll

Both infrared heat-seeking and radar-guided Atoll missiles are used with the Mig-21 bis defensive fighters manufactured in the Soviet Union. Atoll is the NATO code name for the Russian missile.

### SA-3

An areal antiaircraft missile system with which Helsinki is protected. Its Finnish name is the IT-79 missile, the Soviet name is Petsora and it is Goa in the NATO nomenclature.

### SS-N-2 Styx

A Soviet naval defense missile. The Styxes constitute the chief weapons on Tuima-class missile boats as well as on the Isku [blow] missile barge. The coastal artillery also has Styx missiles in use. There are four Soviet-made Tuima-class missile boats in Finland.

### RBS-15SP

The chief armament of Helsinki-class missile boats. The decision to procure them was made last spring. This entirely new naval defense missile is Swedish. It is also designed for coastal artillery use. Only one Helsinki-class missile boat has been built, the "Helsinki." Its three sister vessels have been ordered from Wartsila's Helsinki shipyard.

### SS-11

A French antitank missile. Acquired in Finland in 1964. The SS-11 missiles have now been entirely transferred to coastal defense installations where they are used in channel defense.

### ITOW

An American heavy antitank missile, the "Improved TOW." In Finland it is the PST-83 missile. It is both portable and can be mounted on a vehicle. The development of a way to mount it on existing Finnish armored vehicles, probably personnel carriers manufactured by Sisu, is being considered. These missiles are not yet in Finland.

### Vigilant

Finland's first missile type was procured as early as 1963. It is an English-made, wire-guided antitank missile which has now been phased out in Finland too.

### AIM-9L Sidewinder

The English Air Force, the RAF, has developed the American Sidewinder as a weapons for its Hawks. Finland has at least not yet procured Sidewinders for its own Hawk trainer-fighters, but the import organization is already prepared for a possible procurement.

### Electric Torpedo

Like many maritime nations, Finland too has designed a guided electric torpedo, an underwater missile. The fast Hurja guard boat, of which only a prototype

has been built so far, is being considered as a launching vessel for it. Development of the torpedo system is, however, incomplete due to a lack of funds.

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## SISU, VALMET IN COMPETITION TO SELL ARMORED VEHICLES

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 3 Sep 83 pp 3,9

[Article by Martti Heikkila and Jaakko Vitikka: "Comptetition Over Order for Armored Vehicle Being Resolved: Sisu Will Provide Trucks with Armor and Valmet Forest Tractors; State Firms Compete for Army Orders Worth Millions"]

[Text] The hot competition that has been going on for a couple of years now over orders for armored vehicles is approaching the settlement stage. Two state-owned firms, Sisu-Auto Oy and Valmet, have both invested large sums in the planning of armored vehicles and building of prototypes.

At neither of them, however, is there definite information as to what the plans of the sole domestic customer for them, the Armed Forces, are.

According to the General Staff, they will try to reach a decision on the order before the end of the year.

Sisu and Valmet have been roaring through their field tests neck and neck almost to the end of the race and the results will now be studied. However, the possibility does still exist that the vehicles may not be ordered from a domestic firm at all.

Each company believes firmly in its own potential. Sisu stresses the speed and mobility of the vehicle it has developed as a field truck and Valmet, on the other hand, the fitness for cross-country use and towing ability of the vehicle they have designed for use as a forest tractor.

An armored field truck and an armored forest tractor. Briefly stated, those are the starting points from which the state firms, Sisu-Auto and Valmet, commissioned by the General Staff, set out to develop domestic, armored personnel carriers.

The prototypes are ready, the test runs nearly completed and the firms are engaged in a bloody battle to obtain the orders for them.

Decisions on the orders have not yet been reached but, according to the General Staff, as many as from 400 to 500 vehicles may be needed. Whether there is another matter — depending on how it is equipped, the cost of one vehicle may amount to from 800,000 to 2 million markkas.

Lt Gen Pentti Vayrynen, who is responsible for military equipment procurements, said that they would try to reach a decision on the orders this year. All alternatives are still open: They may order from Valmet, Sisu or both of them or, on the other hand, they may not order them. There are also foreign alternatives.

#### Similar-Looking But Different

Sisu and Valmet's competing developers have created two quite different kinds of equipment.

The Sisu truck plant has built a fast, six-wheeled vehicle that moves at a speed of over 100 km an hour on the highway, bounds off the road at nearly top speed over the ditch and up the nearest hill.

It tries to skirt the worst spots so that speed can be maintained and continues on its way even over waterways — at a speed of only 10 km an hour, to be sure.

There will probably be an antiaircraft cannon mounted on top of the Sisu, but there could even be a state-of-the-art antitank missile system on it. In the rear there is a tow hook, but at high speed it would be preferable not to have anything trailing behind.

Valmet's vehicle also has six wheels. Due to fitness for cross-country use, it has, however, been developed as a forest tractor and because of that it is not as fast as the Sisu.

The axles are not equidistant from one another since the four rearmost wheels are linked with rollers. The rollers can be moved hydraulically with the result that it is especially suited to cross-country operation.

Valmet's roller is particularly effective in towing operations, it can be equipped with tracks and can even haul a pontoon barge jointly designed by Valmet and Army engineers through the worst spots.

The Valmet moves as quickly as the Sisu in water. When it tows the pontoon barge, its equipment without a hitch includes a Russian-manufactured twin antiaircraft cannon in addition to a machine gun.

While armored vehicles do not move very fast in water, they are fairly agile in water. One can even roll the vehicle from a stationary position.

It is, nevertheless, not exactly easy to steer armored vehicles and tanks among shoals. Only about a half a meter lies above the surface and it sits as deeply in the water as the Navy's almost 40-meter rocket boats.

A tank was once used to go fishing too — on a day off, to be sure. The fishing trip, however, turned into a full workday when the craft piled up on a rock. Finally, the tank got back into open water under its own power. The fishermen were not bold enough to request help from their leader.

## Idea Is 10 Years Old

The idea of building a domestic armored personnel carrier is 10 years old. Originally the plan was to build a vehicle for Finnish UN troops and the Armed Forces plant at Vammaskoski built a prototype.

In experimental operation the Vammaskoski vehicle proved itself to be hopelessly slow and did not otherwise meet requirements.

In 1980 a conference was organized in which representatives from Sisu, Valmet, Lokomo and Vammaskoski participated. The following spring the General Staff decided to order prototypes from both Valmet and Sisu.

Both plants have now invested several million in the development of an armored vehicle.

Neither plant's year-end balance has been the best possible these past few years, they have the production capacity and above all a need to cover their investments in armored vehicles.

Sisu and Valmet started to develop their vehicles on such different bases that we may well ask whether the Armed Forces were originally just thinking of procuring different vehicles.

### Basis for the Sisu Was the Masi-Sisu

Sisu decided to start with a field truck. As early as the mid-1960's Sisu was marketing the Model A-45, which all Army auto men are familiar with.

It supplied the Armed Forces with about 500 vehicles. Cannons are hauled with them and tens of recruit-age groups have been transported on their platforms as well as all sorts of equipment from hard tack to machine pistols.

In the winter of 1981 Sisu presented a new generation of field trucks, the Masi-Sisu, which, compared to its predecessor, has about twice the load and hauling capacity.

Among other things, there are brand-new types of tires jointly designed by Sisu and Nokia and a new type of axle on the Masi, or SA-150, which was developed on the basis of operational experience with the A-45 field truck.

When the Masi was presented, the construction of an armored vehicle was already under consideration. So, three Masi axles and six wheels on the armored vehicle.

### Basis for the Valmet Was a Forest Tractor

The basis for the Valmet was a forest tractor designed during the last decade, Type No 1502. The Armed Forces ordered about 10 tractors, primarily for use by the engineers, and altogether about 50 of them were built.

For the time being this tractor has been eliminated from Valmet's selection of products, but it can be manufactured "as a tailor-made item," in which case the price would be about 600,000 markkas.

The Valmet also runs on six wheels, four of which are linked with the rear rollers. Following tests, they substituted a Sisu axle for the front axle. In both armored vehicles all six wheels are drive wheels and, with differential locking, convertible to "independent drive."

Valmet especially emphasizes the good towing ability of its equipment. It offers, for example, a pontoon barge weighing over 10 tons, to be towed by the tractor.

One prototype of the barge, which was used in water for the first time at the end of the 1970's, has been built. The barge is primarily intended for use by the engineers in crossing stretches of water. When it is towed to the spot in question, it opens into a bridge.

The barge costs approximately as much as the armored vehicle. If the Armed Forces were to order it, it would probably have a significant impact on employment at the Kuorevesi aircraft plant. A Swedish alternative is also available.

At the present time half of the Hawk trainer-fighters have been assembled and, when the series is completed, employment at Kuorevesi will come to an end.

A barge can carry 10 tons of aluminum, which could provide employment for experts who have mastered the difficult art of working with aluminum.

Some time ago, when the job of assembling the Drakens was completed, most of Valmet's aluminum workers left for other jobs.

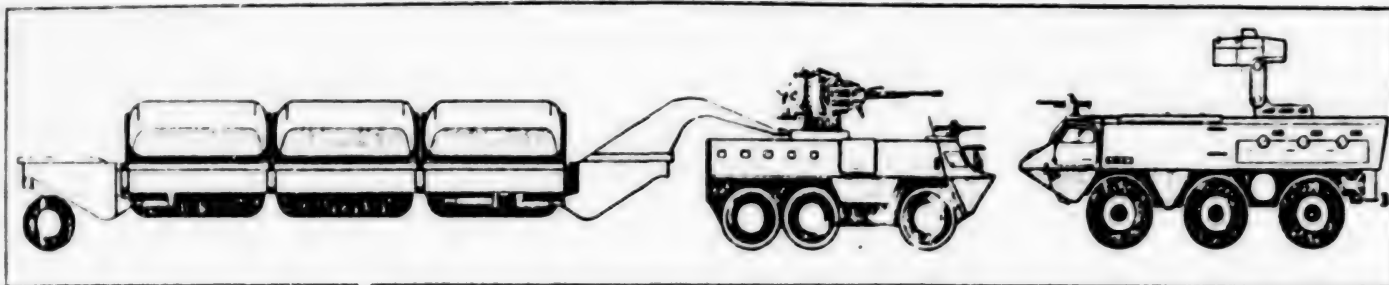
#### Armored Vehicle Specifications

| <u>Feature</u>                      | <u>Sisu KA-180</u>                              | <u>Valmet 1912-6</u>  |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| Weight                              | 12 tons   | 12 tons   |
| Length                              | 7.35 m  | 6.4 m   |
| Width                               | 2.89 m  | 2.73 m  |
| Height                              | 2.3 m   | 2.47 m  |
| Ground clearance                    | 0.45 m  | 0.45 m  |
| Armor                               | protection on both from rifle fire and shrapnel |   |
| Engine                              | Valmet 270 HP (SAE)                             | Valmet 245 HP (SAE)   |
| Transmission                        | automatic                                       | automatic   |
| Steering                            | 4 frontmost wheels turn                         | front wheels turn   |
| Axles                               | 3   | 3   |
| Suspension                          | all axles provided with springs                 | front axle provided with springs, rear roller without springs |
| Body/Chassis                        | based on field car parts                        | based on tractor parts  |
| Percentage of domestic construction | 86 %  | 89 %  |
| Transport capacity                  | 10 + 2 with equipment                           | 10 + 2 with equipment   |
| Carrying capacity:                  |   |   |
| highway                             | 6,500 kg  | 6,000 kg  |
| cross-country                       | 3,000 kg  | 2,000 kg  |
| Maximum speed                       | 105 km/hour                                     | 80 km/hour  |
| Operational radius                  | 800 km  | 800 km  |
| Speed in water                      | 10 km/hour                                      | 10 km/hour  |



Sisu and Valmet have built two nearly identical-looking armored vehicle prototypes and are engaged in a bitter fight to obtain orders from the Armed Forces. An antiaircraft cannon is pictured mounted on top of the Sisu version.





Valmet emphasizes the towing capacity of its armored vehicle and Sisu the speed of its vehicle. In this sketch the Valmet is towing a pontoon barge designed by military engineers in Finland and has an antiaircraft cannon and a light machine gun mounted on its topside. Contemplated as one of the Sisu's weapons systems is a heavy ITOW antitank missile, to be procured from the United States, whose launching device is pictured in firing position.

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## LAPLAND AIR EXERCISES COMPLETED

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 26 Aug 83 p 6

[Text] With the exception of the "Oulu bang," a major exercise engaged in by the Air Force and some antiaircraft batteries in Northern Finland went according to expectations. Over 2,000 men, about 1,400 of them reservists, participated in the exercise. The reservists functioned chiefly as air-reconnaissance units and in assuring airfield operations.

Responsible for exercise communications, Major Fredriksson received a flood of phone calls when one jet fighter that broke the sound barrier awakened Oulu residents in the middle of the night between Monday and Tuesday.

Fredriksson regarded the incident as regrettable and said that weather conditions helped to produce an especially loud noise.

"Since there have been destructive industrial explosions in Oulu, people's initial reaction was that some plant had blown up." Fredriksson estimated that hundreds of people had called alarm centers, the police and the Air Force to find out where the noise had come from.

The exercise situation involved an attack by the Yellow troops aimed at the south from the direction of Rovaniemi, an attack the Blues observed on the Oulu-Kajaani-Kuopio line and which they repelled. The defenders were victorious.

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## AIR FORCE AGAIN EXPRESSES INTEREST IN PURCHASING DRAKENS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 8 Sep 83 p 10

[Article: "Air Force: Draken Procurement Would Not Violate Paris Peace Treaty"]

[Text] The Air Force General Staff rejects the view that Finland would be violating the provisions of the Paris peace treaty if we procure more defensive fighters.

In the government's budget proposal for next year authority has been granted to order a half squadron of used Draken fighters for the Air Force from Sweden. They would be given to the Satakunta Flight Detachment at Pirkkala Air Base. A half squadron is estimated at about 10 planes. The exact figure was not reported.

According to the Paris peace treaty, Finland's Air Force may have 60 planes. Nowadays that provision is interpreted as meaning so-called first-line fighter planes of the kind Army men classify Draken and Mig-21-bis fighters as. Finland now has one squadron of each of these, the Migs with the Karjala Flight Detachment and the Drakens with the Lapland Flight Detachment.

"In accordance with international practice, the Finnish Air Force does not report the exact number of first-line fighter planes it has, but it does stress the fact that it is under no circumstances in violation of the limits set by the Paris peace treaty now in effect," Air Force information officer Maj Lars-Olof Fredriksson said.

"If the Air Force gets its third defensive fighter squadron, the combined total of fighter planes in all three squadrons will not exceed 60 planes," Fredriksson said.

According to some information, Finland now has 43 so-called first-line fighters. Considerably larger figures are cited in international information sources, but at the General Staff they say that they are incorrect. The fact that there is no common way of determining the exact number for a squadron influences an estimate. For example, in Finland there are different numbers of planes in Mig and Draken squadrons.

In the Army they also point out that the signers of the Paris peace treaty, the Soviet Union and England, would hardly sell Finland planes if that would at the same time violate the peace treaty. The Soviet Union has sold Finland MiGs and England has sold it Hawk trainers.

The Air Force does not at present count two-seater training planes or unarmed planes as first-line fighter planes. Major Fredriksson noted that some of the obsolete equipment is now being and will in future be used as reconnaissance planes which will be phased out over the next few years.

The Air Force has 26 jet trainers, Hawks, in use and they replace the Fouga Magister equipment that is to be and has been phased out. All told the Air Force will have 49 Hawks by the end of 1986. These planes are not counted as fighters. Nor are the Fouga Magisters, of which there were originally 40, counted as fighters. On the other hand, there are 30 Lektas, or Vinka basic trainers. They are slow, propeller-driven training planes which are also not counted under the limits of the peace treaty.

In addition the Air Force has in use target-towing, communication and transport planes, that is, old DC-3's that are to be phased out, new Learjets, Fokker transports and new Piper Chieftain communication and reconnaissance planes. Furthermore, old Piper equipment is still in use. There are altogether about 20 of these planes. In addition there are 10 helicopters.

In the government's budget proposal 1.141 billion markkas are allocated for Armed Forces equipment procurements. About a third of that is destined for the Air Force.

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## AIR FORCE SAYS PURCHASE OF DRAKENS WOULD NOT VIOLATE PACT

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 9 Sep 83 p 12

[Article by aviation editor Jyrki Raivio: "Used Drakens for the Air Force; Plane Is Outdated, but Reliable and Effective"]

[Text] Reliable and effective as a weapons system, but outdated as an airplane.

This is pretty much military aviation experts' opinion of the Swedish Saab J-35F Draken, which has been chosen as the fighter plane type for the Satakunta Flight Detachment at Pirkkala. "It's a good machine and we certainly have been satisfied with it," Air Force commander Lt Gen Rauno Merio said of the Draken. But he did not want to say anything about the procurement of a half squadron of Drakens. In the Air Force budget secrecy is interpreted so literally that they will not consent to discuss the procurement until after Parliament has approved the government's budget proposal.

We can, nevertheless, anticipate something about the used Draken deal on the basis of past experiences. In addition to the 12 DK fighters assembled in Finland, as far as we know 15 of the same type of plane have been purchased from Sweden for the Air Force, six of them old, Model B's suitable almost solely for use as trainers, six Model F's which are classified as first-line fighter planes and three two-seater J-35C's.

The planes that go to Pirkkala will be Model F's and our western neighbor certainly has enough of them to sell too. The Swedish Air Force has more than a couple of hundred of this type of Draken.

## Changes at Kuorevesi

The used planes will be adapted to fit our systems at Valmet's Kuorevesi plant, for which the modification of from 10 to 15 planes is a fairly big job. According to Merio, here we have changed only the guidance and landing systems in previously purchased used planes, but the weapons system, for example, has been retained unchanged.

According to reliable sources, there are four heat-seeking or radar-controlled air-to-air missiles and one 30-mm cannon on the DK.



According to Merio, a plant called FMV (Flygvapnets Materielverk [Flight Weapons Equipment Works]), which is specialized in the procurement and sales of Swedish Air Force equipment, will be selling Finland the used Drakens. The manufacturer of the planes, Saab-Scania, has nothing to do with the deal.

According to Merio, setting up the new half squadron at the new air base at Pirkkala will be a big job for the Air Force. The flight detachment that is now flying the plane type that has been chosen, that is, the Lapland Flight Detachment at Rovaniemi, will take charge of the training. They intend to have the squadron operational at Pirkkala by early August 1985.

#### Not Violating the Peace Treaty

Merio did not want to more specifically discuss the total number of Air Force planes indicated in the peace treaty, but he did say that, even after Pirkkala gets its half squadron, the total would be under the maximum allowed, 60.

The Air Force itself will not announce the number of planes and it is difficult to obtain reliable information elsewhere as well. For example, the highly rated source entitled "The Military Balance" reports that the Finnish Air Force has 43 fighter planes and includes among them 22 Mig-21-bis, six two-seater Migs and three two-seater Drakens, but only two one-seater DK fighters.

Nothing else is known about the number of Migs but the fact that six two-seaters is certainly too large a figure. On the other hand, six Model F Drakens purchased from Sweden and which "The Military Balance" forgot must be counted as fighter planes.

In the Air Force they are reacting to doubts that the peace treaty may have been violated with great indignation, all the more so because they have very specifically tried to comply with all the provisions of the treaty. A good example of this is the Japanese Mitsubishi/Mooney Mu-2 communications plane which was assembled in the United States and imported a few years ago. The peace treaty prohibits the importation of Japanese and German engine-driven aircraft and the Board of Aeronautics considered the matter for a long time before it determined that the Mu-2 was more an American than a Japanese plane, the importation of which would under the circumstances not be in violation of the Paris peace treaty.

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